

A
CONSPIRACY
OF THE
SPANIARDS

Against the
State of *VENICE*.

Out of French.

The Second Edition.

William



Hickman

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A
CONSPIRACY

OF THE

REBELS

IN

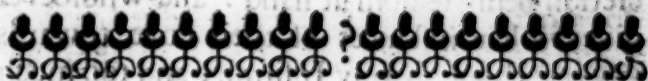
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BY

W. D. D.

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A Conspiracy of the *Spaniards* against the State of *Venice*, &c.



Amongst all Humane Enterprizes Conspiracies are certainly of greatest consequence; for Courage, Prudence and Fidelity, being equally requisite to every Member, are Qualities rare in themselves, therefore much more rarely found to concur in single persons. We are inclined for the most part to flatter our selves with an opinion of being better beloved than we are, especially when our Merit seconds our Belief, and we have been studious in the Art of obliging. Hence some Principal Conspirators are drawn to rely entirely upon the Affection of their Party; but there is scarce any Friendship so powerful as the fear of Death; for Affection if it prove violent, perverts the Judgment in all occurrences of surprize; the aids of Dis-

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cretion being seldom at hand : and whosoever give violent instances of their Love towards any one thing, betray Infirmary and too much Subjection to their Passions.

If a Conspirator on the other hand be a man of Judgment, and that there is no reason to suspect his Prudence, then the same Vertue tempers his ardour, and renders his Zeal less active than the others : he is apter to fall into the contemplation of the great hazard to which he is exposed, and of the Methods wisely to disengage him ; to weigh that the profits accruing by the Conspiracy are uncertain, and that to reveal it to such against whom it is contrived, his Reward is sure. Moreover the general Talents and Abilities of Men are the product for the most part of their Experience, and their reasonings seldom prove solid in affairs unpractised ; Wisdom being a profiting from Errors committed, and collecting thence Rules for our safer Government in the future.

But since there is no comparison, either for the danger, or the difficulty, between a Conspiracy, and any other kind of Enterprizes (no Experience whatsoever in other affairs being able in any measure to enlighten Us in the conduct and managements of this) to be safe therefore against the commission of any considerable Error, employes our acquaintance in
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the Profession, and it is very rare to find a person that has been twice Engaged in Affairs of this kind: for if he succeed in his first Attempt, the profits that accrew thereupon secure him against the need of expoling himself to a second danger; and if he miscarry, he is either crushed in the ruines, or will hardly be drawn to run a second risque, if he escape. To these hazards we must add, that how detested soever a Tyrant may be, yet Self-Love proves ever more powerful than our Hate towards others: For it is not enough that Conspirators be really men of Fidelity, if every Member be not so possesst of all his Companions; and a Leader ought to have as serious and equal regard even to the Panick Fears, and the most airy Imaginations that may occur, as to the solidier and more important difficulties of his Enterprize, as being equally capable of mischief: For a single Word spoken upon a Foreign Subject; a Gesture, without any design, may beget a suspicion of Treachery, and cause a precipitate Execution: also a Circumstance of time, or place, being in it self of no consideration, may yet occasion much Surprize and Apprehension: and all this, from the difficulty of providing against such variety of Chances. For such is the nature of man, that he fancies every body discyphers his heart, and studies to suspect he is discovered from all that is said

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or done in his presence; and the Conscience of guilt corrupting our Reason attacks us by every object. And now if the difficulties are insuperable in Conspiracies against single Persons, What judgment can be made upon the invading of Multitudes, and when we aspire to to the *Usurpation* of whole Cities or States, wherein will be requir'd more time to contrive and digest, and greater numbers to execute the Design? These Reflections have taught me to consider such Enterprizes as points of History, of all others the most moral and instructive, and are my Motive to the making publick a Conspiracy of an Embassadour from the Court of *Spain* to the State of *Venice* against that Common-wealth, about fifty six years since.

I know not whether or no my Judgment may have been seduced by my affection to the Subject I have undertaken; though I must ingenuously avow, I know none that affords greater instance of the effects of Prudence in the Transactions of the World, or of Chance; of the vast extent of Humane Wit, and its various confines, of its Elevations the most aspiring, and its most secret Failings, the infinite circumspection necessary to Government; the difference between Good and Evil Arts, and between Wisdom and Subtilty: and if Malice be most hateful in the abuse of things the
most

most excellent, then may this History be an ~~ar~~
gument of our greater Horror, where we find
the most excellent Qualities employed to an
End the most detestable. And hence a wise
Greek, as we read, observing a Criminal per-
sist in an untruth amidst his torments with a
marvelous Constancy, could not forbear ex-
claiming; *Oh unfortunate wretch, that could
use so excellent a Vertue to so base a purpose!*

The difference between *Paul* the fifth, and
the Republick of *Venice* being composed by the
power of *France* with the Honour due to the
Holy See, and the deserved Glory of the Vene-
tians, *Spain* alone found thence subject of
Complaint; for having espoused the Papal In-
terest, and proposing to reduce the Venetians
by force of Arms, they were offended that a
Treaty should be entred upon with so little re-
gard to them; but having more narrowly stu-
died the secret of that Accommodation, they
found no just occasion of Complaint against his
Holiness, & that the Contempt which appear-
ed to have been done to them in that Affair,
proceeded wholly from the *Venetians*: for it
was the Senate that endeavoured to exclude
them (in some sort) the Mediation, pretend-
ing they could not well be Judges that had
shewed so much partiality. How distasteful
soever this Injury might be, yet they gave no
hint of their resentment during the reign of

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Henry the fourth; the Obligations which that Prince stood in towards the *Venetians* were too publick, and the Care he exprest of their Interest during their difference with the Court of *Rome* was no less; but his Death setting the *Spaniard* at Liberty, there wanted then nothing but a Pretext.

There inhabited in the Territory of the house of *Austria*, in the quarter coasting upon the *Adriatick* and contiguous to that of the *Venetians*, a nest of Pyrats known by the name of *Uscoks*: these Pilferers having committed innumerable violences upon the Subjects of the Republick, were protected by the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand de Gratz* then Sovereign of that Country and afterwards Emperor; himself was a very Pious Prince, but his Ministers were sharers in the booty with the *Uscoks*, and being avowed Friends to the *Spaniard* made use of this occasion to revenge them on the *Venetians*.

The Emperor *Matthias* moved by the just instances of the Republick composed this difference at *Vienna* in February *Anno Dom. 1612.* but the Accomodation was so ill observed on the part of the Arch-Duke that they came at length to an open War, wherein he was not so clear a Gainer as the *Spaniards* had proposed to themselves.

The *Venetians* by their good conduct easily

repaired the slight Damages they sustained in some little Encounters, and being at that time secure against the least apprehension of the *Turks*, they were better able to support the War, than the Arch-Duke. That Prince was at length pressed by the Emperor to make a Peace in contemplation of the Grand Seignor's menacing of *Hungary*; himself also became engaged in a very considerable expence in favour of his Election to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which happened soon after: The *Spaniard* would gladly have contributed towards the continuation of this War, had not that also in which they were then engaged with *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* forbid the separation of their Forces, and that Duke being supplied with large Sums from the Republick could by no means be wrought to violate his Amity with them. The *Spanish* Council laid deeply to heart the exceeding prosperity of the Affairs of *Venice*, and the soft & peaceable Temper of King *Philip*, and that of his Favourite the Duke of *Lerma*, suggested little or no prospect of a redress: But a Minister of theirs, resident at that time in *Italy*, not guilty of the same Moderation, undertook the business; and this was Don *Alphonso de la Cueva* Marquis of *Bedamar*, Ordinary Ambassador at *Venice*, a Man of the most exalted Understanding and dangerous Spirit that *Spain* has ever produced

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duced : his own Writings, that are yet extant speak him qualified with all the requisits that Historians ancient and modern have set down to compose an extraordinary Man ; he compared past Transactions with the Occurrences of his own time , he observed exactly the differences and resemblances of Affairs, and how much those which seem to be alike are changed by what is different; he was able to give his judgment of the Issue from the first draught & project of any Enterprize : If he found he had prophesied amiss, he would trace his Error back to the source, and learn the true cause of his mistake ; by this study he became thoroughly acquainted with the surest Methods, the truest Means, and the most material Circumstances that presage success to any great Adventure, and render them for the most part prosperous; his practice of perpetual reading, meditation, and observance of Transactions of the world, had raised him to that high pitch of Wisdom, that his conjectures as to the result of any Affair were esteemed in the Court of *Spain* as so many Prophecies. To this profound Learning in the nature of great Affairs was joyned a singular Dexterity in the conductive part, a Facility in speaking and writing with a most charming elegance, a marvelous Felicity in the knowledg of men, a Behaviour ever gay and open, wherein one read more heat than gravity,

vity, so remote from Dissimulation as to look like Simplicity, a Humour free and complaisant, and so much the more impenetrable by how much every body thought they understood him; of Manners, soft, insinuating and endearing, whereby he screwed himself into the most dark and difficult Secrets, always preserving a perfect calm and serenity of Countenance amidst the most violent and cruel agitations of Spirit. The *Spanish* Ministers had at that time a great ascendent on the Governments wherein they resided, and the Marquis of *Bedamar* was chosen for *Venice* in the year 1607. as to the most difficult of all Forreign Employments, wherein he could hope no assistance from either Women, Priest, or Favorite; the Council of *Spain* was so well pleased with his Ministry, that how needful soever his service was to them at home, yet in the space of six years they could not resolve to recal him. So long a Residence gave him leisure to study the principles of that Government, to penetrate their most retired Cabinets, to discover their strengths and weaknesses, their advantages and defects; He foreseeing that the Arch-Duke would be necessitated to make a Peace, and that it would reflect shamefully upon them, the Injury being wholly on their part, he resolveth to embarque in some Design that might prevent it: he considered
that

that the present state of Affairs in *Venice* did not render the Design of mastering it impracticable, by the Intelligence he had acquired & the Forces he was able to provide. Their Armies had dreined their *Magazines* of Arms, and had in a greater measure diminished their People capable of bearing them; and as their Navy had never been in a more flourishing condition, so their Senate had never been considered so formidable, or held a better opinion of their own Security: howbeit, this invincible Fleet was obliged to be still hovering upon the Coast of *Istria*, the then seat of the War; the Army too was as remote; so that in *Venice* there was scarce any thing that could suggest a reason against the descent of the *Spanish* Naval Army: To render this descent more secure, the Marquis of *Bedamar* resolved to possess himself of two principal posts, and those were the place of *St. Mark* & the *Arsenal*; but he considered the difficulty would be great, without some accident to disturb the repose the City at present enjoyed; he proposed therefore the applying fire in several places the most combustible and the most needful of relief about the City. He was not over-hasty in rendring an account hereof to his Master, knowing how tender most Princes are of explaining themselves upon Affairs of this nature until they are ripened to a degree of affording nothing more to execute, but an

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assurance of possession, in case it take effect; he contented himself barely to remark to the Duke of *Ufeda* principal Secretary of State, that upon considering the dishonour the House of *Austria* had sustained by the insolent behaviour of the *Venetians* during the War of *Friol*, and that all the means that had been proposed for an accord, both at *Vienna* and elsewhere, resulted in Ignominie and Contempt; he considered himself in a Station wherein Nature, as well as Policy, did oblige a faithful Subject to have recourse to all imaginable Arts, to preserve his Prince and Country, from an Infamy otherwise inevitable; and that Care became especially incumbent on him in regard of the Employment he exercised, wherein having continually before his eyes the very Sources and Spring-heads of those evils so important of Redress, no man was a better Judge than himself what sort of Remedy to apply, and that he would attempt to acquit himself of that Duty in such manner as should be worthy the Zeal he profest for the Glory of his Master.

The Duke of *Ufeda*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his Worth, soon comprehended that his discourse was the disguise of some Project equally important and dangerous; but as wise men seldom pry deeper into Secrets of this nature than they are compell'd, he forbore to communicate his thoughts thereupon to the
chief

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chief Minister, and only replied to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, in general terms, extolling his Zeal, and committing the rest to his accustomed Prudence.

The Marquis that lookt for no other, was not at all surprized at so cold an answer, and now studied nothing more than to dispose his Design that he might have perfect Assurance of the wished Event.

The World never had Monarchy so absolute as is the Empire by which the Senate of *Venice* governs that Republick; they observe a wonderful difference betwixt their Nobility & those that are not so, weighing even the most scrupulous and minute circumstance. Their Nobles only are qualified to govern in the respective Countrys of their Obedience; The most eminent Gentry and Principal Magistrates of the Country living among them with the distinction rather of Sovereigns than Governours: and in case the Republick confers at any time Offices of trust in their *Militia* upon Strangers, it is always on strict conditions of their perfect Obedience to the Sentiments of their *Generalissimo*, which is ever a *Venetian*, who in effect never affords them other latitude than the executive part.

As there is no Pretension so plausible as a War, for taxation of the People, that of the *Ussocks* gave a fair occasion for enriching the Nobli-

Nobility of *Venice*, by whose conduct it was managed: this alone was an extraordinary Expence, and over and above the Treasure remitted to *Piedmont*, they were constrained to maintain also a third Army in *Lombardy* to attend the motions of the Governour of *Milan*, who daily threatned them with a diversion in favour of the Arch-Duke. The Justice of the Republick's cause rendred their Ministers yet more hardy in contriving new vexations, but not the People more patient in suffering them; herein they proceeded to such a degree as gave the Marquis of *Bedamar* reasonable Assurance to believe that the Revolution he had meditated, would be almost as welcom to the Commonality, as fatal to the People of Quality. Among them also there were many that were grown out of love with the Government, and these were the *Partizans* of the Court of Rome; and indeed were the greatest number, ambitious and revengeful, resenting the Republick's having governed against their Councils during their contest with that Court: These seemed prepared to do or suffer any thing, to wrench the Authority out of their hands, that then had it, & would joyfully have beheld the Government unfortunate, as being the fruits of a Conduct they had disapproved. There was another shallow sort of Fools that would be more Catholick than the Pope, who upon

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his Holiness relinquishing his Pretensions in the Accomodation, conceived he had been obliged thereunto by the Rules of Policy, and consequently that if there was any mental Reservation in that proceeding, that it was to be feared the sentence of Excommunication still rested in force in the Intentions of his Holiness: Of this number some were Senators, men as Indigent in their fortunes as their minds; these were of great use in the pursuit of the Marquis of *Bedamar's* Design, who, converted by expensive Gifts, became perswaded, that since that Negotiation none could be longer a *Venetian* with a safe Conscience. Notwithstanding the rigorous Injunctions against the Nobilities holding correspondence with strangers, yet the Marquis found means to contract a very intimate understanding with the necessitous and male-content Party; and in case any of these had either near Kinsman in Religious Orders, a Mistress, or any familiar Ecclesiastick, these he would compass at any rate; buying them with Presents of considerable value, making use of nothing ordinary, but curiosities from Foreign parts: such Liberalities, on so slender Motives, gave encouragement to the Receivers to hope for something yet more considerable: In which prospect they informed him with all simplicity to the full of his Curiosity, & laboured also to furnish themselves in many doubt-

doubtful points the better to enable them to comply with his Demands, and his acknowledgments still transcending their assiduity gave at length incitement to their Engaging their Patrons also in this Commerce.

It is still to be concluded that Poverty was the principal wheel of this Engine, and that these Noble men could not regard but with an eye of envy, People entirely their dependents should on their consideration become more rich than themselves : But however it came to pass, from thence forth there was nothing debated by the Senate that was a Secret to the *Spanish* Ambassador: His advertisements were so punctual of all their resolutions, that the Generals of the Arch-Duke became still instructed in whatsoever had relation to the War before those of the Republick could receive Orders for their execution : Together with this Intelligence it imported the Ambassador to have a considerable number of Soldiers to give life to his Enterprize ; but the *Spaniard* having a strong Army in *Lombardy*, he saw no difficulty in that point, provided there might be a Governour of *Milan* qualified to joyn with him in the Design. The Marquis de *Inojosa*, that then held that place, had contracted too near an Alliance with the Duke of *Savoy*, to be thought fit ; he was newly returned from signing the Treaty at *Ast*, where the *French* and

Venetians had been Mediators between that Duke and him. The Ambassadour knowing that the negotiation would not be well relished in *Spain*, writ that he might be recalled; and at the same time solicited *Don Pedro de Toledo* Marquis de *Villa Franca*, his intimate Friend, to make his Interest to succeed him in the Government of *Milan*. *Don Pedro* had hereupon Orders for his departure to fill *Inajosa's* place about the end of the Year 1615. and before he was quite arrived he dispatched advice to *Venice* by the Marquis de *Lara*. The Ambassador communicates his Project to the Marquis in terms the most agreeable, charging him principally to inform himself if the new Governour could be able to provide him of 1500 choice Men, when he should see occasion. *Don Pedro* charmed with the Grandeur of the Enterprize resolved to second him in what he was able, not exposing himself to a certain ruine in case of a defeat; He therefore dispatches the Marquis de *Lara* a second time to confirm the Ambassador, and also to request him to consider that the Souldiers he demanded were to be the choicest pickt Men, and in case they perisht, he should remain without excuse to have exposed to so manifest a hazard the whole Flower of his Army; howbeit he would not fail to provide him as many as possibly he could, and that they should be such as he would

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answer for as for himself. Nothing was so important to this Design of the Ambassador as to obstruct all means tending to an Accommodation; on which consideration he obliged the Marquis de Lara to make Propositions of Peace to the Senate very unreasonable on the behalf of the Governour of Milan: The Senates reply was as they expected, full of Indignation, and refusing to enter into a Treaty with them: Don Pedro also was wanting in nothing on his part to perplex matters; The Duke of Mantua was cold in his disposition of pardoning his Rebel Subjects, according to his Promise at the Treaty at Ast, and was encouraged in his obstinacy touching that Article, & to persevere in his Executions he had already begun amongst them: Propositions were also made to the Duke of Savoy in relation to the fulfilling of that Treaty, foreseeing that he would not accept it; they likewise excused disbanding their Army, as he had done, and as they ought, with pretext grounded on the War of Friol, wherein the Spaniard could no longer with honour refuse to take a Share. The Venetian Army had passed the Lymongo, and besieged Gradisque the Capital City in the Arch-Dukes Territories; Whereupon The Council of Spain, who hitherto had observed a Neutrality, foreseeing the damages were like to ensue to that Prince, threatned to de-

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elares About the same time expired the misunderstanding that had been in the House of *Austria* between the two branches of *Spain* and *Germany*, after the contest between the Son & Brother of *Charles* the fifth touching the succession of the Empire: The Interest the *Spaniard* took in that War was the first instance of that Reconciliation. *Don Pedro* ordered the Camp-master *Gambeletta* to advance towards *Crema* with his troops, and commanded the mounting of 24 pieces of Battery at *Pravia*, which as he publisht to the World, were to be the train to a Body of 8000 men, to march under the conduct of *Don Sancho de Luna*. On the other hand the Vice-King of *Naples*, that was then cruizing in the *Mediterranean* with the *Spanish Fleet*, threatned to attack the Duke of *Savoy* at *Villa Franca*; he blockt up all the passages of relief by Sea to the Republick, and appeared always in a posture of Sayling into the Gulf, to be a check there upon the *Venetian Fleet*. The Ministers of that State made loud Complaints in all Courts touching this violent proceeding, which the Marquis of *Bedamar* undertook to justifie; he also foresaw that it would be of great use in his Design to undermine, if it were possible, the very Foundation of their repute, famed throughout *Europe* for so many ages for the most Ancient and Free of all States: their Freedom had been
newly

newly proved to the World, and magnified more than ever (upon occasion of their late Difference with the Pope) by several Discourses that were supposed unanswerable; albeit the adverse Party wanted not able Instruments in the management of that Contest. This the Ambassador fell to examine anew, and in a few Chapters refuted all that the numerous Volumes of *Venetian* Authors had said on that Subject, without so much as doing any one of them the honour of making mention of his Name: And as there is no Proposition relating to matters of that sort which an able man may not render very problematick, upon pretext of establishing the Imperial Right in *Venice*, he obviated that the Independence of that Republick was as Chimerical as their Empire of the Ocean; it was not convenient for his purpose that he should be known the Author of this *Libel*, he therefore Publishes it with so cautious a Secrecy that it came not to Light during his Life, howbeit it seems strange he should not be suspected; but it is also to be believed that the *Venetians* at that time scarce understood him; his behaviour airy and so full of emportment, (for so he studied to appear) would not permit them to conceive that a man of a Character so impetuous, could be author of so refin'd and studied a Satyre of State Justice and Honesty seemed equally to inspire him, and

his declamations against the Enterprizes of the Venetians, that went also mixed, were handled with a Moderation very apparent which alone was sufficient to gain applause. This Work intituled *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made much noise, and by reason of the obscurity of the Author, the suspicion fell of course upon the Court of Rome, from the occasion of their former Writings; and the ablest Senators fancied all the World made their Judgment of the weight thereof, and were more affrighted than at the loss of a Battle.

Francis Paoblo had ordered to examine it; but he, who could trifle with the other Writers of the contrary Party, declared this last was by no means to be answered; it being impossible without Inlightning the World in Matters that imported more should still remain concealed in the dark bosom of Antiquity; however he replied that in case the Senate judged it consistent with the Dignity of the Republick to resent the outrage, he engaged himself so to perplex the Court of Rome in their Defence, that they would hardly ever think of a second attack: this Intimation was approved in the heat of their displeasure, and gave *Fra. Paoblo* the satisfaction of publishing his beloved History of the Council of Trent, which under less motive had not appeared during his Life. In the interim the Campagne in the year 1616 passed

passed without any considerable action on either side; the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Venice*, being tender of exposing to a second Risque the glory they had already purchased, impowered *Grissy* the *Venetian* Ambassador at *Madrid* to renew the negotiation; but the *Spaniard*, irritated by the Difficulties they had encountered, contrived Propositions so unreasonable that it took no effect. *Gradisque* continued, blockt up the enemy, maintaining their Battery during the Winter, and the Armies were in the field betimes with an ardour that promised more success than the preceeding year.

The Dutch Truce had rendred the greatest part of the Souldiery of that State usefess, and many Soldiers of Fortune both *French* and *Germans* sought employment elsewhere; The Count of *Nassaw* and *Leivesteine* marched with 8000 men, *Dutch* and *Walloons*, to the *Venetians* Service; Whereupon the *Spaniards* zealously complained to the *Pope*, that the *Venetians* did expose *Italy* to the infection of Heresy by their entertaining that *Militia*: but the Ambassador of *Venice* remonstrated, that it was not so much the *Spaniards* concern for Religion that produced that Complaint, as their apprehension to see two great Republicks in conjunction against them. The Marquis of *Beldamar* would have been much perplext had

the *Pope* obliged the *Venetians* to dismiss those Troops; for as the major part of *Military* people regard nothing so much as their profit, when they are in service under a Foreign Prince, he hoped to draw the chief of Mercenaries into his Design, convincing them by largesses and the hopes of pillaging *Venice*. In this contemplation he fixt upon an ancient *French Gentleman*, by name *Nico Renault*, a person of experience and understanding, who had taken refuge at *Venice* for some cause that was unknown; The Marquis of *Bedamar* observed him to have been a long time resident at the *French Ambassadors*, and from some accidental Discourses had been between them *Renault* discovered him to be no less an able Man than fame had rendred him: and the Marquis who was glad to purchase a friend of his Character near the Ambassador of France, had contracted a strait Intimacy with *Renault*, who though a man extreamly indigent, yet preferred Vertue to Riches; howbeit could sacrifice his Vertue to his Ambition, and whensoever innocent methods should fail him in the pursuit of Glory, there were none too ill for his purpose: he had learnt out of ancient Authors that most excellent Indifference relating to life and death, which is the sure Foundation of an extraordinary Design, and ever regretting those celebrated times wherein the merit of particular men

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composed the destiny of States, and where such as were possessors thereof never wanted occasions to make out their Title. The Marquis of *Bedamar* that had thoroughly studied him, and that was in great want of a Man on whom intirely to confide in the conduct of his Enterprize reveals it at length to him, declaring withal he had his eye fixt on him from the very beginning. *Renault* held himself obliged more by that Assurance than from all the praises he could have heaped upon him; his years, wherein he was advanced, kept him steady to his Engagements; the less Time he had to live the less was his Adventure; he conceived he could not better employ the few uneasy years he had yet to pass than to hazard them to the making his name Immortal. The Marquis of *Bedamar* gave him Credentials and Bills of Exchange necessary to negotiate with the *Holland* Officers; and charged him by no means to communicate the Design to them, and only to intimate that Affairs being embittered to that degree between the Republick and the House of *Austria*, and the *Spanish* Ambassador resident at *Venice*; foreseeing a conjuncture that might expose his Person to the rage of the People of that City, to secure himself against which he endeavoured to provide himself of a considerable number of trusty resolute Friends. This pretext was thin enough, but the

the least disguise in Affairs of this nature is of great use; it imported but little though People suspected Mystery, provided the Truth remained still in the dark: by this means he hoped to debauch the Flower of the *Venetian Land-Army*, and for the remainder it would be so infeebl'd, that it would be a very easy task for *Don Pedro* to defeat them in their March, in case they should advance in opposition to his design. Their Naval Army was indeed what gave greater reason of apprehension; they were at all times flatter'd with the opinion of Conquerors, and were easily transported; the greatest part of the Soldiery natural Subjects of the State, and it was to not be doubted but that, upon the first rumor of the Conspiracy, they would fly with swiftest diligence towards *Venice*. To expect their defeat from the *Spanish Navy* was a doubtful point, and it had not been Prudent to put to the hazard of a Battel the success of an Enterprize that was otherwise so full of danger: It was therefore judg'd most to the purpose to contrive how to render their fleet incapable of Service; The Ambassador, who was not so great a Master in Maritime Affairs as the Vice-King of *Naples*, who at that time commanded the *Spanish Armada*, found it therefore needful to consult him upon that Subject: The Vice-King, who was

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to be a principal Actor in this Tragedy of the Ambassador's, was that Duke of *Ossuna*, so famous for his Gallantries; a man as enterprizing as either *Don Pedro* or the Marquis of *Bedelmar*: this Conformity of mind had begotten a very strait Intelligence between these three Ministers: but neither *Don Pedro*, nor the Duke, were the ablest Counsellors: the Duke would be sometimes guilty of excursions approaching to extravagance; howbeit the high opinion they held of the Marquis *de Belamar* contained them within stricter bounds of Prudence than they profess. The profits accrewing to those that follow the Trade of Piracy under some sort of powerful Protection had drawn to the Court of the Vice-King of *Naples* all the renowned Pyrats of the *Mediterranean*: This Vice-King that was fruitful in extraordinary Adventures, and in his practice rather profuse than covetous, did not protect them so much with regard to the advantages he shared in their Booty, as to retain always about him a considerable number of People fit for any Enterprize: and not content barely to receive them, but whensoever he found a man above the common Level, would covet and cherish him by such favours and presents as bound him fast to himself: he had treated after this sort a certain Captain by Birth a *Norman*, and named *Jacques Pierre*, and so

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so excellent in his profession, that all others held it their Glory to proceed by his Rules and Example; a man whose manners had taken no impression from the barbarity of that course of life who having purchased wherewithal to subsist, had resolved to quit it, albeit in the Flower of his age, and had made choice of the Duke of *Savoy's* Territory for his retreat, who being a *Prince* taken with every extraordinary Talent, and so much an abler Judge from what himself posselt of Natures bounty, knowing this Corsair to have the repute of one of the bravest Men living, vouchsafed him leave to settle himself in *Nisa*. All sorts of Maritime People, from Soldiers and Officers to the Seamen, that frequented that Coast, made their ordinary Court to the Captain, his Counsils were their Oracles, and he was Sovereign Arbiter of all their Differences, and was yet a greater Subject of their Wonder that he could be able to relinquish a profession wherein he was so great a Master, and which of all others was so hard to quit: of this number was one *Vincent Robert de Marseilles* who happened to touch in *Sicily*, where the Duke of *Ossuna* Governed as Vice-Roy, was by the kind treatment he received, induced to put himself into his Service; The Duke having heard that this *Robert* had been a Comrade of the said Captains, would familiarly complain to him that his

Friend

Friend should prefer the Country of the Duke of Savoy to his Government for his retreat; to his complaint he added the highest testimonies of his esteem of the Courage and Experience of that Captain in Sea-matters, and finisht his discourse with assurance to spare nothing that in him lay to invite to his Court a Person of so singular merit. Robert with great Joy embarkt in this Affair, which being managed with so generous advances on the Dukes part, the Captain was in the end vanquisht, and transported himself with his Wife and Family into Sicily, where living constantly entertained with a prospect of the Sea he became daily less Master of his Inclinations to that Element. The Vice-Roy had newly built several beautiful Gallions, and it happened that a party of Turkish Vessels of great Value being on their Voyage with a very slender convoy, this temptation the Captain had not power to withstand; and he found no cause to repent him, for that he took in that attempt an incredible booty, the major part whereof the Duke (who from thence forwards entertained him with the Indearments of a Brother) bestowed on him, on condition he would accompany him to Naples to which Government the Kings Instructions had ordained him, and that he would make a Voyage to Provence; and labour to draw into his Stoice all the able Ma-

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Mariners of his acquaintance upon that Coast: The Captain obeys him, and returns with a number sufficient to man five large Vessels that appertained immediately to the Vice-Roy; of this *Squadron* he was made Commander in chief, with which he Pillaged uncontrouled all the *Islands* and Coasts of the *Levant*, and finisht his first expedition with a Famous Battle wherein he took and sank a considerable *Squadron* of *Turks* Gallies. 'Twas about that time that the Marquis of *Bedamar* communicated his purpose to the Duke of *Offuna*, with full assurance of his readiness to Embark with him: The Duke, that aspired to the Dominion of those Seas, wished nothing with so much ardour as the ruine of the *Venetians*, who were his only powerful Rivals, and could dispute their Title with more obstinacy than the *Turks*; He therefore confers with the Captain touching the Affair, obviating also the difficulties which the Captain believed were not Invincible, and after several days of secret Conference he leaves *Naples* abruptly, and in an Equipage that betrayed both great haste and fear; the Vice-King dispatches People in his pursuit to all Quarters, but the way he had taken, with Order to take him dead or alive; his Wife and Children were from that day taken into Custody and treated with all appearing Cruelty, his estate became confiscate, and the

the Dukes displeasure thundred with so much fury that the whole City of Naples was surprized notwithstanding their long acquaintance with his violent temper: and now the Captain appearing also no less enraged than the Duke, gave an easie Argument for the Peoples belief of the Misunderstanding, who believed he had practised something against the *Spanish* Interest; or that of the Dukes Designs in particular. In the mean time he returns to his first retreat; the Duke of *Savoy* was at that time in a declared War with *Spain*, and was famed for one of the most generous men of that age: and albeit he had publisht his displeasure at the Captains leaving his protection for a retreat in *Sicily*; yet that did not discourage his presenting himself at the Dukes feet, to whom he made many false reports of Designs of the Vice-King against the Republick of *Venice*, full of imaginary Horror, but without any manner of agreement with the true purpose, and that believing he could not with honor engage therein, he had meditated his and his families escape from *Naples*: But having notice that the Vice-Roy had received Intelligence of his purpose, he had been constrained to fly in that miserable Equipage to escape his fury, and to abandon all that was dear to him in the world to the disposition of the most cruel man living: the Duke of *Savoy* was touched with

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with pity at the Melancholy recital, & received him with open arms; He told the Corsair that his Interests being straitly twisted with those of the Republick, he thought himself accountable for the Service he had rendred to their common Interest, in case the *Venetians* should be cold in their Acknowledgements; He also added, that it imported that the Senate should be instructed from his own Mouth of the Designs of the Duke of *Offuna*, and after having exhorted him in a couragious supporting his affliction, having equipt him with all necessaries, and made him a noble present, dispatcht him towards *Venice* with his Letters of Credence and Recommendation. The *Venetians* were not less affected than the Duke of *Savoy*, the flight, the tears, the poverty, the despair, the abilities, the exploits, the hopes that he would draw to them that great number of brave men that he had conducted to the Duke of *Offuna's* Service; but above all the Designs he revealed of that Dukes which he had invented as plausible as was necessary, all these circumstances spoke so Eloquently in his favour, that they immediately gave him the Command of a Ship. Howbeit *Contarine* the Ambassador at *Rome* did remonstrate, that in consideration of his coming from the Vice-Roy, he was by no means to be trusted; but fear having wrought in the Spirits of the *Venetians*,
the

the usual effect of Belief, stopt their Ears to that prudent Advice. 'Twas not long ere the Fleet put out to Sea, and the Captain, who considered of what Importance it was to signalize himself, took so many Prizes upon several Commissions he had received to pursue them; that upon his return from that Expedition they added eleven Sayl of Ships to that he had. Of these happy successes he gave an Account to the Duke of *Offuna*, finishing his Discourse in these words. If these *Pantaleons* proved in their easy Faith, as they have begun; I dare assure your Excellency, my Lord, that I shall lose no Time in this Country. He writ also at the same time to his several Comrades he had left at *Naples*, to draw them to that Service; which he found no difficulty to debauch; the Vice-King, upon his Flight, feigning to hold them all in suspicion, Treating them now as ill as before he had been kind: He made also great complaint of the Republicques protecting the Captain, and in Revenge, gave Sanctuary to several of the *Uscocks* that the *Venetians* had chased from their Habitations. By Virtue of his Protection, they began a Trade of Privateering; took a great Vessel bound from *Corfu* to *Venice*, and sold their Booty publicly under his Standard; He violated the freedom of Ports, and made very considerable

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rable Reprizals upon very slender Motives,
and disputed the Orders he received from
Spain for Restitution of what he had Seized;
and publisht a Manifest to justify his Disobe-
dience. He sent also a great Fleet to Cruize
in the *Adriatique*, and caused to enter in
Triumph into *Naples* the Prizes that were
made upon the *Venetians*. In brief, he ruined
their Commerce at the cost of the *Neapolitans*
themselves, who were interessed, and the
Farmers of the Revenue of that Kingdom;
offering to make complaint thereof, he for-
bade them on pain of Death. There being no
declared War between *Spain* and the Repub-
lique, the *Venetians* became justly astonished
at a proceeding so irregular: the Major part
imputed it only to the bare extravagance of
the Duke of *Ossuna*; but the Wiser sort, who
knew there was nothing of so important Use
as the dexterous and politick management
of such People, had deeper conjectures, and
that the *Spaniard* served himself of the Ca-
pricio's of the Duke, in order to such pro-
ceedings, as they would neither avow or
maintain.

His Familiar discourses were, Surprizing of
the Ports in *Istria* belonging to the Repub-
lique, Pillaging their Islands, and also, if it
were Practicable, to make a descant even up-
on the City of *Venice*; the Design whereof
he

he discoursed among his Courtiers, he caused exact Draughts to be made of the Works about it; also the Building of several Barks, Brigantines, and other small Vessels, proper for all sorts of Channels: variety of Experiments were also made, to discover what weight each depth of Water could sustain, & he invented every day new Engines to diminish the weight and facilitate the motion. The *Venetian* Resident at *Naples* punctually accounted hereof to the great despair of the Marquess of *Bedamar*, who began to repent him of having joyned himself with so weak a Man: But the issue undeceived him. The Vice-Roy proceeding with all this Pomp and Noise, gave the *Venetians* cause to consider him in ridicule; even their Wisest Senators could by no means imagine, that any solid secret could be masked under the disguise of so much Appearance and Publicity. The Duke continued his preparations with the same Vigor, whilst no body took the least notice or suspicion; and the same Indiscretion that was held ruinous to the Enterprize, did more advance it than all the caution and circumspection of the Marquis of *Bedamar*. Howbeit, the Marquis judged it necessary to hasten the Execution, either from a reason of not giving the *Venetians* leisure to make Reflections, or from the hazard to which his person

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son was daily exposed. The *Venetian Fleet* having upon an Expedition offered Battle to the *Spaniards*, which refusing, they plundered the Coast of *Apulia*; this success begat so insolent a Joy among the baser people, That, but for the Protection of the Guards that were sent in his favour, they had assassined the Ambassador with his whole Family. About the same time he received News from the Camp before *Gradisque*, which Relieved him upon that accident; *Renault* advising him that he found their Spirits so happily disposed, that the Negotiation was speedily effected. The Ambassador had ordered him to visit *Milan* before his return, where *Don Pedro* received him with all the Caresses great Men practise for the amusement of such as Sacrifice themselves in their Service: They concluded together, That it would much Import them to take possession of some Town in the Continent at the same time they should surprize *Venice*, which should be a Bridle on the other Towns, serve as a place of Arms to the Spanish Army that should March against them; and be a checque to that of the *Venetians*, in Case they should appear for their Relief. *Renault* Travelled through their Towns of chief importance, and sojourned some time at *Crema*, in Order to the forming a Faction in that Garrison; which he effected, and by means

means of a French Lieutenant, named *Jean Berard*, an *Italian* Captain, and an Ensign that was a *Provencal*, one that *Don Pedro* had already gained: These three engaged to receive 500 *Spaniards* into the Town, and without giving the least Jealousy to the Governour, who was a *Venetian*; and to conceal them for the space of eight days.

Renault, on serious debate upon the place, concluded, That with that number of Men, the Design was infallible; there being nothing to do, but to cut the Throats of a miserable Garrison, that had been drawn out of the Country-Militia: all the Regular Troops of the Republique, being either in the Towns in *Fryol*, or upon Service in their Armies.

The Duke of *Offuna* had made the *Marquess de Bedamar* of Opinion, That it would be necessary also, to make themselves Masters of some *Venetian* Port upon the *Gulph*, whereby to render the *Uscocks* and the Arch-Duke, more Serviceable; and to be a retreat to the *Spanish-Fleet*, in Case any adverse accident should necessitate them to seek a Port in those Seas, after they should be engaged. To this purpose they made choice of *Maran*, a strong Town upon an Island confining upon *Istria*, and that had a Port capable to receive a great Fleet. An *Italian*, by name *Mazza*, that had been a Serjeant-Major there, for the space

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of 40 years, and had authority almost equal to the Governors, promised the Dukes Emisfary in Consideration of a considerable sum of mony and the Command of the Place, to kill the Governor upon his first Order, and make himself Master of the Place for the Service of the *Spaniards*.

This Design was as feasible, as to engage in it: The Governor, who was the Commissary *Lorenzo Theophilo*, lived with him in great familiarity; and, whereas the charge of Commissary gave him much business upon that Frontier in time of War, he confided intirely on the Serjeant-Major, touching whatsoever had relation to matters within the Garrison, as being the most experienced and able Officer upon the place. Affairs being ripened to this Pitch, the Ambassador thought it now high time, to fall upon finishing his peice; not but that more time might give him leisure to add still maturer degrees to the measures he had taken, but he also knew, That there was nothing so fatal as delay, in Affairs of that nature.

'Tis impossible that all the different means that conspire to the prosperity of an Enterprize should be ascendent in one and the same moment; some change their Positions, whilst others are preparing; and whosoever is once so happy as to be able to unite a sufficient number

number, it is a most capital error not to improve the critical minute of so precious a conjuncture. It highly concerned the honour of the Crown of *Spain*, that the Ambassador might not be convicted of having had the least hand in the Enterprize, in case it should miscarry; in contemplation whereof he resolved to discover himself to none of the Conspirators but *Renault* and the Captain: Nor had these two any Knowledg of each other; they never waited on the Ambassador but by his own Order, and he was always careful to appoint their Attendance, so as to avoid encountering; by which, had they chanced to be detected, it would have been much to his advantage that they had no understanding together.

Upon this Consideration, he could have been well content that they should manage their business apart, without the least cognizance each of other, as they had hitherto proceeded; but upon more deliberate thoughts he became convinced, that it was impossible; and despairing utterly of success in his Enterprize, but by a perfect Union and Friendship between them, he resolved to overcome that difficulty, how hard soever it appeared. Albeit they were both men of Courage and Discretion; *Renault* valued himself principally upon the Conductive part, and to have so

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methodized his business, that the Execution was most practicable, and the success Infal-
libile.

The Captain on the other hand, being a person of more Youth and Vigour, studied especially to appear a Man of great Execution, and capable of acquitting him of the highest Resolutions. To him the Marquess revealed the several Negotiations of *Renault*; his Experience, that furnisht him with Expedients against all accidents; his Eloquence and Address, in Order to the acquiring new Partizans; his skill in Correspondence, so very useful in such Negotiations, wherein it was of so great importance to be continually instructed in the State of their Fleet, Provinces, and Armies; and That he concluded such a Person would prove of very great satisfaction to the Captain, he being a Man of years and great Experience, who wanted neither Courage nor Constancy; howbeit, his Age and Profession claiming more of the Councillor than the Soldier, rendred him incapable of sharing with the Captain any part of the Glory of the Execution. As to *Renault*, he told him only, That the Captain was a Creature of the Duke of *Offuna's* which Duke being to be the Principal Sharer in the Design, there could be no reasonable pretence to conceal any thing from his Confident: he conjured him
therefore

therefore to condescend to the behaviour of the *Corfsair*, as far forth as might be consistent with their purpose, and to treat him with all the Respect and Artifice as was necessary to acquire the love of a Man of Action, fierce and presumptuous to the highest degree.

The Marquis of *Bedamar* having thus laboured to dispose these two Men to a friendly understanding, was much astonished when he saw them embrace each other with Testimonies of extream Affection, upon the very instant of their Interview.

There is no Constancy or Presence of mind so intire, that yields not to some imperfect reasonings upon Objects extreamly surprisng. The first judgment the Ambassador made, was, that he had been betrayed; for it having been his great care to hinder the Conference of these two Men, he could not comprehend upon what Motive they should conceal from him their acquaintance together : But this Mystery was soon revealed when he came to understand, That their acquaintance arose from their having often encountred at a famous *Greek* Courtizan's House, a Woman of extraordinary merit for one of her profession, whereof there could not be a greater Instance, than by her so religiously concealing the secret they had enjoyed her to make of each others Name.

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This exactness of hers appeared also so much the more extraordinary by how much she was not ignorant that they had conceived a reciprocal esteem one of the other. The Ambassador perfectly recovered of his Surprize, was ravish'd to find so strict a Union, where he so much wish'd it: they avowed upon entering into conversation, That they had respectively design'd to engage each other in the Enterprize.

Having their thoughts continually agitated about this their Project, they happened some times amidst their entertainments at this *Greeks* to fall upon Discourses of matters of that nature, talking of the Affairs of the Times, of State, and War; which they did without making any discovery; or indeed without the least purpose thereof; howbeit, they both confess ingeniously, in the presence of the Ambassador, That the warmth of their Debates had often transported them too far, and given too much Testimony of their Sentiments. The Ambassador intreated them thereupon, to make good use of that Reflection, for their greater Circumspection in the future, and collect from that Experiment, That to keep a great Affair truly secret, it is not sufficient either not to say, or do any thing that may have the least relation thereto, but even to endeavor to forget our own Impressions thereof.

Renault

Renault proceeded to observe, That, since the rumours of Peace, that revived again about the Month of *June*, the *Venetian* Officers had very ill treated the Forreign Troops; who, had they not been restrained by the Authority of *Count Nassau*, which dyed about that time, they had rendred but an ill Account of their Service before *Gradisque*; That the *Venetian* General, who had a yet worse Opinion of them than they deserved, had separated them upon Posts, the most distant he could choose; That this Precaution had publisht the diffidence they had of their Fidelity, and put them into mutiny; and having insolently refused to execute certain Orders of the Senate, the General had thought it his Duty to put to Death the principal Mutineers; That he had confin'd their Officers at *Padua*, and distributed the rest into divers places of *Lombardy*, until they should be able to pay them, and the Ratification of the Treaties should permit their dismissal. *Renault* added, That the Lieutenant of the *Count de Nassau*, who was one of the principal of those with whom he had dealt, had been confined at *Brescia*, and that he had laid a Design, by virtue whereof he would be able to deliver that Town into *Don Pedro's* possession: And that it was necessary to resolve first upon this particular Affair; for that the Lieutenants Letters

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pressed for a decisive Answer. The Ambassador replied, That it would not be necessary to give any Alarm on that side, before they were Masters of *Venice*: Moreover, they should not have occasion for more than one place in *Lombardy*; That they were sure of *Crema*, and that any other Enterprize would but divide their Forces; That hitherto they had entertained those they had gained at their own Devotion, but that they respited the Execution upon various pretexts, and rather than expose themselves by the least noise, 'twould be better wholly to decline that Proposition.

Renault replied, That beside that Lieutenant, he had dealt with three *French* Gentlemen, by Name, *Durand*, Serjeant-Major of *Lievestines* Regiment, *Brainville* and *Brabe*; also with a *Savoyard*, named *Ternon*, that had been at the *Escalade* of *Geneva*, a *Hollander* named *Theodore*, one *Revillido*, an *Italian* Engineer; two other *Italians* that had formerly had employment in the *Arsenal*, named *Lewis de Villa Mezzana*, Captain of Light Horse, and *William Retrofi*, Lieutenant and Captain *Honorat* in *Patma*: That he had judged it necessary to open himself without reserve to these nine Persons, who he had chosen, with such Caution, that he would pawn himself for their Fidelity; That during his abode in the Camp they had gained above

two hundred Officers; That to these Officers he only intimated, that the Ambassador had ordered him to endeavour to be ready in *Venice* to rescue his Excellency from the fury of the People, whensoever he should have occasion: That since his return, he had received advice of the just number of Men, they might rely upon; and that they did not proceed, but upon methods very certain: That they depend on two thousand at the least of the Troops of *Leivestein*, besides three hundred of those of *Nassaw*; and that their Officers were all ready to deposite their Persons as Hostages for their Fidelity: That at the begining of the Negotiation, they had flattered their Soldiers with the hopes of leading them upon some Expedition, when they should be dismiss the Service of the Republick, which should abundantly recompence the miseries they had sustained: That it was not to be suspected that the singularity of the Enterprize would discourage them, whensoever it should be necessary to publish it; That they were incens'd to that degree against the Senate, upon the score of the ignominious Treatment they had received, that he did avow, that single reason was sufficient to incite them to any feasible Design for their Revenge: But that however, for better concealment, they would not declare, if they thought it fit, until matters were so

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advanced that there would be scarce any doubt of the success; and that, upon the Resolution they had taken of exposing the City to be Plundered, there would not be found one single Person scrupulous of enriching himself, by a way so sure and ready, and of spending the rest of his Life in ease and plenty.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, from the first thoughts he had conceived of this Enterprize, resolved by no means to engage but upon a sure prospect of much more means than would be necessary to the effecting it; and that these also should be so independent and disingaged, that the failure of either should in no sort influence the remaining Expedients: hereupon he omitted not to take his measures with the Duke of *Ossuna*, for a supply of Men, albeit he was in no doubt of *Don Pedro's* complement, or of *Renault's* success, in his understanding with the *Hollanders* Officers. He having treated upon each of these three Points with such prospect of security, as implied not the least Assurance from either two, and as though they were to result in three different Enterprizes.

It now imported to know precisely in what time the Duke of *Ossuna* would be able to put into *Venice* the Men he demanded; but that Duke not always taking so certain measures as to beget an implicate relyance on a naked Promise in a matter of so great importance as well

well as difficulty, it became needful to dispatch a Person that should be capable to Judge upon the place, how far he was able to comply with his word. The Captain could not be absent from *Venice* unremarkt; and *Renault's* presence was indispensably necessary; they therefore resolved *Bribe* should be their Envoy, one of the *French* Gentlemen, with whom *Renault* had negotiated at *Friol*: But this Gentleman having received Commission from the Republick to raise Soldiers during his preparation for his Journey, they concluded it of more use that he should prosecute that Imployment, and resolved upon one *Laurence Nolot*, a *French Comptrol's*, the said Captains Comrade, who departed upon *Newyears* day 1618. The Marquis of *Bedamar* thought it also now high time to explain himself with the *Spanish* Council; To anticipate therefore their own demand of being enlightned in the Affair, he sends them his Project the most intelligible and circumstantiat he was able: And whereas he was well acquainted with the slow deliberations of that Court, he protested, by a special dispatch to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he would have an Answer speedy and decisive; and that the danger in which he was, made it just to explain himself in those absolute terms; and that in case they detained his Courier above eight days, he would interpret the retardment

tardment as an Order wholly to desist. He received an Answer within the time he demanded; howbeit not so full & determinate as he hoped: They signified that in case he should incur danger by delay, that then he might proceed; but, if it were possible, they passionately desired to have first before them a faithful and ample State of the Republick. The Ambassador being prepared for that Subject, was not long in providing a Relation so exquisite, that the *Spaniards* called it the Master-piece of their Politicks. It was not known upon what Design he framed it; howbeit, such as have seen it find nothing therein that is not adjusted to the Design. It begins with an Eloquent complaint of the difficulty of that Work by reason of the profound secrecy of the Government he was to describe; he then falls upon encomiums of that Government; but the Elogy he made, regarded more the first Age of the Republick, than the present State. From their praises he falls upon a general Discourse, equally sad and elegant, of the deplorable Condition of humane things, whereof the most excellent are most incident to Corruption; so the wisest Laws of that State by the abuse they had suffered, had been the Original Causes of its present Deformity: That, that of her Laws, which intirely excludes the people from cognizance in Affairs,

had

had introduced a Tyranny of the Nobles; and that which subjected the Ecclesiastical Power to the Censure of the Sovereign Magistrate, was the foundation of that looseness of the People of *Venice* in relation to the Court of *Rome*, since the contest of the Republick with that Court: He Illustrates that looseness by the Impiety it was reported the *Hollanders* committed with impunity in *Fryol*; and particularly declaims against their having buried a Person of Quality of their Nation, named *Reynold Brederode*, in the Church of the *Servites* of *Venice*, notwithstanding he was a *Calvinist*. In that Article he takes occasion gravely to tax *Fra. Paoblo*, without mention of his Name, for that it was he that inspired the Senate with that Resolution. He wondered how the People, being no longer tyed to their Obedience to their Prince by the Obligations of Religion, violated so many ways to their Faces, could yet support the dreadful Vexations they lay under. He minutely represented their Grievances, and without exaggeration made them appear intolerable. He proceeded to discover to them, That neither the Honour nor the Lives of the People were less at the discretion of their Masters than their Estates; and that the Genious of the Nation being led as it was to Lust, Avarice, and Revenge, it is no wonder if those that live under a Go-

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vernment of that nature should be oppressed by their Masters. In fine, he examined the State of their Senate, of their Provinces, and Armies. In their Senate he remarkt Faction, and Division; he scrupled not to observe to them the discontents of many of their Nobles; he represented the desolation of some of their Provinces by the Cruel War with the *Ussocks*, and the poverty of others by contributing to their Succor: That they had not three Officers paid in any of their Garrisons of *Lombardy*, and that the Republick preserved her Authority from the only reason of no bodies moving to usurp it. As to their Armie, he made a faithful Relation of the several Mutinies in that by Land; and how they had dispersed the Factionous in so great numbers, that the remainder was not to be considered but as a Rabble of an useless miserable Militia, without either Courage, Experience or Discipline. As to their Naval Forces, they were become of late the Sanctuary of all the most infamous Pyrates of the *Mediterranean*; People unworthy the Name of Soldiers, and of whose Service the Republick could no longer make any account, than whilst they wanted power to be able to turn their Arms against her self.

After having made this description with such Beauty of Language, and with so marvelous

velous a vigour of Expression, he examined what judgment ought to be made thereupon of the future State of that Republick, her Fortune, and Duration; and made it evident, and deducible from the principles he had laid down, that it was now languishing; and that the Disease was such as admitted no *Crisis* or amendment of the present Constitution, but by an intire reformation.

Upon this Relation, the Council of *Spain* set the Marquis of *Bedamar* at intire Liberty to proceed, without tying him up to any Instructions: And now *Nolots* delay, who was not yet returned, was the only clog to the business; and the Ambassador could not forgive himself the error he had committed in exposing an Affair of that Nature to the *Capricio* of the Duke of *Offuna*, in whose temper so ancient an Experience ought to have instructed him: delay being mortal in the present conjuncture.

After the *Spaniards* had taken *Versel*, *Gradisque* became extreamly straitned by the *Venetians*; and the Council of *Spain* found no expedient for its Safety but the renewing propositions of Peace: There was therefore publisht by Agreement at *Madrid*, a Writing containing the principal Articles; but the continual disorders of the Duke of *Offuna* obliged the *Venetians* to revoke the Powers.

they had given their Ambassador, and to transfer the Negotiation to *France*, where the Death of the *Marshall d'Ancre*, had given them greater Hopes of Favour.

The Peace was at length concluded the 6th of *September*, and the Governor of *Milan* held Conference some time after with *Count Bethune* at *Pavia*, in Order to the Execution thereof, in Relation to the Duke of *Savoy*: But at the same time the Governor omitted not to molest the *Venetians*, taking several places of theirs in *Lombardy*; whereof they made general complaint, and were making greater preparations for War than ever, until the Marquis of *Bedamar* complemented them upon the Peace in full Senate, and promised punctual Execution of the respective Articles: which he did, not so much in Obedience to his Orders from *Spain*, as from a willingness to wipe out those Ill Impressions the Senate had taken of him in Relation to things past: Upon which consideration he acquitted himself of that Duty with all the Ardour and Demonstrations of Joy and Friendship imaginable; and the *Venetians*, that but too much wisht what he had promised, blindly acquiesce and accord to a Suspension of Arms; which suspension was a cutting blow of the *Spaniards*, and the Master-piece of their Ambassador. *Gradiſque* was at that time straitned to a degree

gree of not being able to hold out fifteen days, and in the mean time Hostilities were yet to continue for the space of two Months; which time was Judged sufficient to perfect all Ratifications, and to dispose things for Execution of the Treaty. It was a point of great Importance that the Town should not yield within that space; The Suspension therefore put it out of danger. And now the *Spaniards*, whose Motive not being so strong to press the Execution of the Treaty, were at Liberty to protract and spin out the time as should best suit with their Designs: Howbeit, the Duke of *Ossuna*, compelled by Orders from *Madrid*, and at the Popes Instance, offered some short time after, to make Restitution of the Vessels he had taken; but for their Merchandize, he knew not how it had been disposed of; notwithstanding at the same time they were exposed to Sale before the Face of the *Venetian* Resident, and a powerful New Fleet was at the same time fitted out to Cruize in the *Adriatick*. The Senate hereupon would have made complaint to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, which he anticipated by much greater of his own; declaring that he could not be accountable for the Actions of the Duke of *Ossuna*; and That the King himself, their Master, would not avow them; That amidst so many Favours and kind Treatments, he received du-

ring his Ministry at *Venice*, The only displeasure he had conceived, was to find that they imputed the Conduct and Behaviour of, that Duke wholly to his Counsels; wherein he never had the least Share: That from the slenderest remarks upon the Duke of *Offuna* might be easily collected, That he had no other Guide than his own *Capricio*; And as for his own part, they might also make a Judgment of his Temper and Disposition, from the Peaceable proceedings of the Governor of *Milan*, of whose preferment he gloried to have been the Author.

It is true, That Governor exactly observed the Suspension; howbeit, he continued still in Arms, which to render the more plausible, he judged it needful to contrive new Disputes with the Duke of *Savoy* on pretext that the Troops dismiss'd by that Prince, were still detained in the Country of *Vaux*, to attend there the compleat Execution of the Treaty; *Don Pedro* therefore refused to the Count de *Bethune* to disarm, as had been accorded at *Pavia*; He also obliged the Duke of *Mantua* to the same Resolution, as far as it depended on him. The Count de *Bethune* publisht a Protest against the m, and upon their refusal retired: Which Protest was Answered by the Marquis of *Bedamar*, in the most colourable Terms he could invent.

It may easily be judged by these Occurrences of how much Importance it was to hasten towards Execution, it being so difficult to preserve Affairs in a posture which gave so fair a promise of success.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Ossina* had not dispatcht *Nolo*; and the Ambassador on the point of despair, sent him Instructions to discover by all means possible, what should be the Cause; which in the End came to be understood.

Some time after the Captain had been entertained in the *Venetian* Service, the Duke, who would be instructed in the Affairs of *Venice* by variety of Methods, dispatcht after him an *Italian*, by Name *Alexander Spinosa*, who was to be a Spy on all Occurrences, and being a Stranger, was soon taken into Employment amongst the Crowd of other Soldiers of Fortune that demanded it. He had a strong belief, that the Duke had some great Enterprize in Design, but did not suspect that the *Corsair* had been the Conductor of the Project: Howbeit, he doubted whether the Dukes displeasure lay so heavy on him as the World believed. Upon *Spinosa's* Arrival at *Venice*, he had offered to the Vice-King to Ponyard the Captain, which the Vice-King refused, from the danger he would run in the Execution. *Spinosa* was a Man of Wit, and being acquainted

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quainted with the Duke, Judged, That in Case he had no stronger Motive of refusal, the hazard of one Mans Life could be no retardment to his Revenge : Nevertheless the Duke gave him in Charge to observe the Actions of the *Corfsair*; which he did either to amuse *Spinosa*, or that the Vice-King was of those that intirely confided in no body, and was willing to mark, how far *Spinosa's* Account of the Captain, agreed with the Captains own Letters.

Spinosa the better to acquit him of his Commission, mixes himself with several *French* Men he had formerly known at *Naples*, and much frequented the Captain at *Venice* : These being of the Conspiracy, rendred an exact Account to the Captain of *Spinosa's* Disquisitions upon his Conduct ; They also discovered, that this Spy traced some Design of his own, and was debauching People into the Service of the Duke of *Osuna*.

The Captain was in great Indignation, that the Duke scrupled to have an intire confidence in him ; howbeit, was not at all surprized : He only considered that in case *Spinosa* should continue to Cabal, unless they had an understanding together, he could infeeble their Party by dividing it, and there would be no prudent declaring himself to one that had Commission to be a Spy upon him.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, and *Renault*, Judged also that they could not spare much time in providing a remedy to this Inconvenience, and after mature Conference upon the point, concluded there could be no security for them, but in *Spinosa's* Death; He was one that would sell his Life dear, in Case of an Attempt to assassinate him; his Profession keeping him in a continual Posture of defence; And the Captain was at last reduced to impeach him to the Council of Ten, as a Spy of the Duke of *Ossuna's*, after having essayed in vain all other means for his destruction.

The French Men with whom he had had Conversation, framed their Depositions so Judiciously, and Circumstantially, that he was apprehended, and privately Strangled the same day; all that he could exhibit to the Judges, in prejudice of the Captain, being invalid, as proceeding from his Accuser, and not being able to prove any thing he depos'd.

This Affair exceedingly augmented the Captains Reputation with the *Venetians*, but was a sensible Affliction to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, as being a useful intimation to them to observe more strictly the Conduct of the Strangers entertained in their Service.

The Duke of *Ossuna* learnt *Spinosa's* Death upon *Nolot's* Arrival at *Naples*, and was not long in guessing at the Author. The dis-
pleasure

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pleasure he conceived thereat, was exprest in his resentment to the Marquis of *Bedamar*, that he had not given him some advice thereupon; and the divers Reflections this accident created in his Spirit, reduced him to Terms of the greatest uncertainty what to resolve on. In the mean time the Troops of *Leivestein* having mutined anew, were by Order of the Senate, led to the *Lazaretto* about two Miles from *Venice* in the beginning of *February*. The Marquis of *Bedamar*, fearing they might come to an accord with the Republick touching their Pay, and that thereupon they should be compelled to depart, wrought with some of their Officers, that they should refuse the Terms were then offered them, to improve the favourable occasion of the vicinity of these Troops.

Nolot was charged by an Express, to represent to the Vice-King, that within the Term of that Month, they should have near 5000 Men at their Devotion.

Nolot forgot nothing of his Duty, but the Vice-King, who had not yet perfectly digested his Choler, amused him so long, that after six weeks expectation, the Officers fearing lest the Soldiers should be reduced by their ill Accommodation, to Treat without them; came themselves to an Agreement by consent of the Conspirators, who could find no Expedient

Expedient to prevent it. Ten days after *Nolot* arrived with the Dukes Resolution, such as they could wish, but address to *Robert Brulard*, one of the Captain's Comrades; but the Ambassador and the Captain being vigorously intent upon the Issue of their Intrigue, express not the least Concern at the Affront the Duke did them in that Address. He advised, That he was now able whensoever they should desire it, to supply them with Barks, Brigantines & other small Vessels, adjusted to the Ports and Channels of *Venice*, and in number capable to receive 6000 Men if it were needful: *Nolot* had viewed the Troops and Vessels, which were all in a ready Posture, and the Captain Ordered the Sounding of the several Depths of Water in the Ports and Channels that were to Conduct them to the Place of *St. Mark*, where they were to Land: for he having store of Seamen at his Devotion, by reason of his Command, they without suspicion, had free Passage to and fro through the several Channels as often as they pleased; by which means it was very easy to take all necessary Measures most exactly. There only now rested how to prevent the departure of *Lievesteins* Troops, which to effect, there was no want of Money; the rigour also of the Season, was a reasonable colour for their delay; the greatest part remained still at the
Lazaretto,

Lazaretto, and such as had embarkt before *Nolot's* Arrival, were entertained in several places at hand.

To relieve *Renault* and the Captain, amidst the Cares of this business (which now grew too heavy for them to support) it was concluded necessary, to take in eighteen more at least, Men of Courage and Understanding, and such on whom they might intirely rely: They composd this number, of nine of those with whom *Renault* had dealt at *Friol*, and of the principal of those that the Captain had invited from *Naples*; they were five Captains of Vessels like himself, viz. *Vincent Robert* of *Marseilles*, *Laurence Nolot*, and *Robert Brulard* (of whom mention hath been made already) the two last *French Comptoir's*, also one *Laurence Brulard*, and a Provincial, named *Anthony Jaffier*: there were also two Brothers *Lorrainers*, *Charles* and *John Boleau*, and an *Italian* named *John Rizzardo*; (these three were excellent *Petardiers*) together with a *French* Man called *Anglade*, who had the Repute of one of the ablest *Fire-Masters* of his time.

The capacity of this last was so remarkable, that he had quickly obtained Liberty to practise in his Profession in the *Arsenal*, and by that means the two *Petardiers* his Comrades had free Entry: Besides these already mentioned,

oned, there was one *Villa Mezzana*, and *Retrosi*, who were of those that *Renault* had gained, and that had had employment in time past: These six drew so exact a Plot of the Design, that those that had never been upon the place, might have discoursed there-upon as Judiciously, as those that Framed it. These received also much Assistance in their Business, from two Officers of the *Arsenal*, that the Captain had drawn in; they had appeared to him dissatisfied with their Employment; were furnished with Qualities proper for his Design, capable of engaging, if convinced of their Interest, and of complying faithfully, with whatsoever they should Promise: The Issue applauded the Judgment he had made, & he so seasoned his Complements to them (which he expressed on all occasions with a considerable number of *Spanish* Pistols, which he had by him to distribute) that they became charmed in a perfect Obedience to all he could command them.

L'Anglade, and these two, had their Quarters in the *Arsenal*; *Renault* had taken with himself to the Ambassadors of *France*, three of his Friends, *Bribe*, *Brainville*, and *Laurence Brulard*; the three *Petardiers* remained at the Marquis of *Bedamars*, who furnished them with Powder and other Materials and Instruments necessary to employ them in their Profession,

session, but without ever having any Communion with them : they had already made more *Petards* and *Fire-Works*, than they should want ; and the Ambassadors Palace was so filled, that it was not capable of Lodging more : The Captain remained at his Ordinary Quarters , but alone, to prevent suspicion in case he should be observed :- And for the rest, he had lodged them at the *Curtizans*, where he and *Renault* had their first Encounter. The Esteem and Friendship that succeeded the Love they had had for that Woman, but especially the Knowledg they had of her Adventure, gave them assurance they could not make a better Choice : She was of an *Island* of the *Greeks*, in the *Archipelago* ; and of Condition as Noble as was possible in a Country under the Government of *Venice*. He that Commanded there for the Republick, had it seems Debaucht her upon some great Promises, and afterwards caused her Father to be assassined, for endeavouring to oblige him to comply with his Promise : The Woman thereupon, transported her self to *Venice*, to demand Justice of the Murder ; but to no purpose, and having in the pursuit spent the little she had, her Beauty repaired now the misery it had occasioned.

People of Noble extraction still form their resentments proportioned to their Quality, when

when reduced to Professions unworthy their Birth; She therefore became Ravisht upon her first notice of the Project of those two Friends, and without reluctancy hazarded all in their Favour, and thereupon she hires one of the largest Houses of the Town, and under colour of some Work was first to be done, removes but part of her Goods, to the end she might have a reasonable Pretext of still keeping possession of both, being not far asunder.

It was in these two Houses, that eleven of the Principal Conspirators had their Residence near six Months, and as she had freely received Visits before from whatsoever Pleasant People, Strangers or *Venetians* occasionally frequented her House; Yet now, lest so great a concourse should expose her Guests to too much Observation, for more security, she feigned her self Indisposed.

Whosoever has observed with what respect Women of that Profession are Treated in *Italy*, will easily conclude, That her House by this means became most obscure and solitary to all that had not business thither: The Conspirators never went abroad but by Night, and to the end they might have that at liberty, they held their Assemblies by day, in which Assemblies *Renault* and the Captain proposed such matters as had been debated with the *Marquis de Bedamar*, wherein the Opinion of the
Com-

Company was consulted together with their Resolutions upon the Methods of Executing them.

Whensoever it imported them to visit the Ambassador, they performed it with all requisite Circumspection in a Country and a Conjunction where Ambassadors Houses were watched and observed, as if they had been so many Enemies; and this more especially. It had been a standing Resolution among them, that it would be necessary to receive and conceal about a thousand Men in the City, before they came to Execution; But because it would be dangerous to introduce them with their Arms; The Marquis of *Bedamar* had made Provision of Arms for more than 500 Men, nor was there much difficulty in doing this with a perfect security, in regard Ambassadors *Gondola's* were exempt from Visits of Officers, from wheresoever they should come; and therefore nothing now remained, but a fit occasion to introduce the 1000 Men into the City without exposing them to observation.

The *Doge Donato* died, and they had chosen in his stead, *Anthony Priuli*, whose Residence was at that time at *Friol*, in Order to the due Execution of the Treaty. The General by Sea had Order to wait upon him with the Naval Army; the Grand Chancellor and

Secre^t

Secretaries of State were to be more early than the rest in their Addresses to present him with the *Ducal* Bonnet; Twelve of the Principal Secretaries were to follow as Ambassadors of the Republick, every one by himself, in a Brigantine Armed and magnificently equipt with a Noble Attendance; The Senate it self was to go in a Body, and receive him far at Sea upon the *Bucentaur*, and Conduct him to the City with all that Pomp: Now because it rarely happens that their Dukes upon their Election are absent from the City, that Ceremony had drawn together an infinite number of curious People.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, that foresaw all this, upon the first notice of the Election of *Prinli*, sent *Nolot* a second time to *Naples*, with Order to get dispatcht in his presence, & with all possible diligence, the Brigantines, &c. of the Duke of *Offuna*; and to prevent all Colour for delay, The Captain had in Charge to present the Duke with an exact Plot or Project of the Execution, and above all, to account to him what had happened at *Venice*, during *Nolot's* first Voyage.

The Captain therefore refines upon that Precaution, and being willing to deal with the Vice-kings humour, by variety of Methods, represented That they had not conceived the least reason of Complaint against his

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Excellency, finishing his Address with these words:

I accuse the negligence of *Nolot*, for so tedious a delay at *Naples*; for I cannot doubt, but if he had made just Representation of Affairs, your Excellency had quickned his dispatch; He must needs therefore, have made demand of mony, or something equivalent; howbeit, he had express Orders to the Contrary: And I do engage to hold *Venice* yet six Months in my Power, if it be necessary, to attend your Excellencies great effect; provided, you dispatch away the Brigantines, upon *Nolots* Arrival, with the 6000 Men you have offered.

This Letter is of the 7th. of *April* being the day of *Nolots* departure.

In the mean time, *Renault* brought into *Venice* all the Officers of the Troops they had gained; that they might Survey the City, and acquaint themselves with their respective Posts, to the end there might be no disorder, when they should come to Execution. Before they departed, they had made choise of 1000 Men out of the *Hollands* Troops, to be ready to March at day-break; and that the absence of this 1000 Men might be less remarkable, they cautiously pick them out here and there, as they lay dispersed about the Country: And the better to accommodate this number every
single

single Officer hired what Lodgings he could, without giving occasion of suspicion, telling their Hosts they were for Strangers that came to see the Solemnity; and as to the Officers, they conceal'd themselves among the Curtizans, where, upon Terms of good payment, they were more secure than they could be elsewhere.

There remained nothing now, but to frame a Scheme of the Execution, which the Marquis of *Bedamar*, *Renault*, and the Captain, concluded together should be as follows.

Upon the close of the Evening, those of the 1000 Soldiers, that were come un-Armed, should repair and furnish themselves at the Ambassadors; 500 of them should draw up in the place of *St. Mark*, to be headed by the Captain: The best part of the remaining five hundred should joyn with *Renault*, near the *Arsenal*; and the rest should possess themselves of all the Barks, *Gondolas*, and other like Vessels at the *Rialto*; with these they should hasten with all diligence to transport near 1000 Soldiers more of the Troops of *Leivestein*, that were still at the *Lanzereto*: during which Passage they should Govern themselves with all the silence imaginable; to the end they might not give the Alarm till that Party should be joyned: Howbeit, in case of necessity, and that they should perceive the m-

selves to be discovered, then the Captain should Retrench himself in the place of *St. Mark*; *Renault* should make himself Master of the *Arsenal*, as shall be described: and upon firing two pieces of Canon, (which shall be for a Signal to the Brigantines of the Duke of *Offuna*, that were to be in readiness to enter the Port;) The *Spaniards* then should supply the want of the Troops that were to be transported.

In case they should not be obliged to declare during their Passage, then, upon the Landing of the *Hollands* Soldiers, at the place of *St. Mark*, the Captain should joyn 500 of those to the 500 he had with him, which the Serjeant-Major *Durand* should command; which 1000 Men should be ranged in Battalia in the place, whilst the Captain with 200 should possess himself of the *Ducal* Palace, and especially of the Armory that was there; as well to furnish their own Wants, as to prevent the Enemies supply. 100 others, under the Conduct of *Bribe*, should make themselves Masters of the *Secque*; and another 100 under *Brainville*, of the *Procuratie*, by the Assistance of a Party they should warily introduce into the *Bell-Tower* the same day: These last should remain as a Corps of Guard in the Tower, during the Progress of the Enterprize, to the End they might not toll the

Alarm.

Alarum. The Entries of all the Streets should also be defended by Corps of Guard, where they should also have Artillery planted to Command the Streets; and till they could be supplied out of the *Arsenal*, they should take some out of the *Gallyfoist* of the Council of Ten, which was near at hand, and would require no difficulty to seize.

In all the places they surpriz'd, and wherein they placed Corps of Guard, they should put every Man to the Sword; and during these divers Methods of Execution, round about St. Marks Place, the Serjeant-Major should continue in Battalia in the midst, with the rest of the Troops. All this Progress shall be made with the least noise possible.

Then they may begin to give the *Alarum*, by applying the *Petards* to the Gates of the *Arsenal*: upon which noise, the eight Conspirators, that had laid down the Draught, and that shall be within, shall apply fire in several places thereof, by the help of the Artificial Fire-Works they had prepared for that purpose at the Ambassadors, as they had the *Petards*: and then they shall Ponyard the Principal Officers.

Herein there will be no difficulty, in the Confusion which the Fire and the Noise of the *Petards* will bring amongst them; especially they not being suspected by their Officers.

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They shall afterwards joyn with *Renault*, upon whose Entry, they shall put all to the Sword; and the Soldiers then shall transport the Artillery to the several places of Importance about the Town. viz. at *Arena de Mari*, to the *Fontego de Redefchi*, to the *Magazines*, to the *Clock-Tower* of the *Procuratie*, to the *Ryal-to*, and other Eminencies, from whence they might be able to batter the Town to Ruines, in case of Resistance. Whilst *Renault* is attempting the *Arsenal*, the Captain shall force the Prison of *St. Mark*, giving Arms to the Prisoners, killing also the Principal Senators: and such as are appointed shall set the Town on Fire in above forty several Places, the most remote one from another that might be, to beget the greater Consternation.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Ossuna's* Party of *Spaniards*, having understood the Signal which shall be given upon Mastering the *Arsenal*, will Arrive, and Land also at the Place of *St. Mark*, dispersing themselves immediately into all the Principal Quarters of the City, viz. *St. Georges*, the *Jews Quarter*, and others under the Conduct of the nine other head-Conspirators; whilst nothing shall be Proclaimed but Liberty.

And after Execution of these Orders, the Pillage shall be free; exempting only Strangers, from whom nothing shall be Plundered,

on pain of Death; refusing Mercy to none but to such as shall resist.

Nalos found things in so prosperous condition upon his Arrival at Naples, That the 6000 Men Embarkt the next day, under Conduct of one Elliot an English Man. To prevent all occasion of Suspicion, the Duke of Ossuna Ordered his great Fleet to fetch a very large Compass before they stood their true Course; but he dispatcht Elliot and the Brigantines by a shorter Cut.

Upon the second day of their departure this little Fleet meets with a Squadron of Pyrats of Barbary, which attacque them; and they being rather equipt for the convenient Carriage and Accommodation of their Soldiers, than for a Battle, were extreamly prest by the Moors Artillery, whose Vessels were Yarer and better Armed: And notwithstanding the great numbers of People that were crowded on Board those of Naples, much incommoded them in their defence: yet, being all choice Spaniards, they would have given the Enemy so brisk an Attacque with their Swords, whensoever they had Boarded, that the Pyrats would possibly have repented their having obstructed their Voyage, but a violent Storm came up and separated them in the heat of their Engagement.

The little Fleet was so Shattered, that they would not be in Condition to put to Sea again in some time ; And the Marquis of *Bedamar*, upon advice hereof, finding he could not prevent the Solemnity they were preparing at *Venice*, assisted there in Person, in a more Splendid manner than any body : He protested in a full Assembly of the Senate, making his Complement to the New Duke, That the particular Joy he had expressed at his Exaltation, sprung from an assurance that his Serenity would retain upon the Throne, the same favourable inclinations towards the accomplishment of the Peace he had so lately expressed at *Friol*.

After this Audience, he sent to *Renault* & the Captain, of whom he immediately demanded if they judged it necessary wholly to decline the Enterprize ? To which, they replied, That they were not only on the contrary Opinion, but that none of their Companions had discovered less Constancy upon the disgrace of the Fleet, than if they had Arrived in safety ; and that they were generally disposed to take all necessary measures to preserve their Party in the best Posture, in expectation of some more favourable Conjunction.

The Ambassador, who had made this Proposition with much Reluctancy, upon their Answer embraced them with Tears of Joy
in

in his Eyes; and told them (with a freedom so Emphatical as would have fortified the weakest heart, and inspired with Courage and Bravery the most affrighted Spirit) That great Revolutions, which in Vulgar Affairs are Subjects of Surprize, are the Natural and Common Contingencies of extraordinary Enterprizes: That these are the only Tryals of our Fortitude; and We are then only capable to conclude our selves qualified for great Designs, when we have once stood the Shock of a Defeat with Constancy and Tranquillity. Hereupon, it was resolved between the Marquis and his two Confidents, That the Execution should be Respited until the Feast of *Ascension*, which was not far off, and was the greatest Solemnity of *Venice*: That in the mean time, they should continue the Troops in their respective Quarters, by furnishing them with all the Conveniences they could desire; and That there should be no want of money to be distributed amongst the Officers for that purpose: That of 300 of them, which were received into *Venice*, they should detain the Principal among them as Hostages for the Fidelity of the rest, and return the inferior Officers to their respective Commands; as well to preserve the Soldiers in their Obedience, as to lessen the number in the Town; lest so many Officers should minister occasion
of

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of Suspicion. That they should provide the the most agreeable Entertainments and Diversions they could for those that remained, for their amusement: and to the end they might not be at leisure if it were possible to make reflection upon the present Posture of Affairs; That the twenty principal Conspirators should have a watchful Eye upon their Motions and Behaviour, and to oblige the Republick to consent to the retardment of the Troops of *Leivestein*, &c not yet to dismiss those of *Nussau*. The Governor of *Milan*, and Vice-King of *Naples* forbore to put in Execution the late Treaty of Peace. All that humane Wit could contrive of pretext and apology to oppose against Reason, was suggested by the Marquis of *Bedamar*, and put in Execution by *Don Pedro*, and the Duke of *Offuna*: howbeit, they were constrained to make daily some advance towards the Peace, in spite of their Aversion..

The Council of *Spain* durst not hazard any thing upon their hopes of success in a Transaction so doubtful, as that of the Conspiracy. And *France* being resolved to avow the Treaty of *Paris*, obliged the *Venetians* to agree that the Duke of *Savoy* should dismiss the Troops he had detained in the Country of *Vaux*, and that served as a Pretext to *Don Pedro's* slow motions. This difficulty being removed,

removed, the Marquis of Bedamar thinking to make that Prince to decline Restitution of the Places he had taken in *Montferrat*, caused a Rumour to be spread, That assoon as the Duke of *Mantua* should be reestablished, he would dispose of that State to the *Spaniards*. At the same time *Don Pedro* studies an unreasonable Quarrel, with a Minister of the Duke of *Savoy's* that had accompanied the *French* Ambassador to *Milan*, Ordering his departure thence. The Duke, incensed at this Injury, recalls them to his own Court, and thereupon put a stop to the restoring of the places he posselt: But the Ambassadors obviating to him, how he was basing into the Snare *Don Pedro* had laid for him, prevailed upon him to deliver up at Once all the Places he had taken. *Don Pedro* was so astonished at this News, that he was not able to conceal his Surprise, even in his publick Discourses. And hereupon it became necessary that he should release his Prisoners, and deliver up the lesser places; but as touching *Venise*, which was the Essential Point, he made so strange difficulties therein that they threatned him from *Spain* to recal him before the ordinary time. To which he replied, That it would be a dishonour for him to restore that Place during the *French* Ambassadors abode at *Milan*, whose presence would seem to Awe him to that

Complement; they therefore retire: and he then declares, That the Duke of *Savoy* ought first to make Restitution for certain Lands that appertained to some of the Duke of *Mantua's* Subjects; those Lands were therefore relinquish't; but *Verfeil* was not yet restored. In Conclusion, *France* being willing to make a Match between *Madam Christina* the Kings Sister, and the Prince of *Piedmont* (whereupon it was accorded decisively, touching that Place) *Don Pedro* began now by withdrawing his Ammunition and Artillery he had there, but with most incredible protraction.

The Marquis of *Bedamar*, injoyning him to a yet greater delay, insinuated he should exact new Assurances of the Duke of *Savoy*, in favour of the Duke of *Mantua*. But the Ministers themselves of *Mantua* declared by a *Manifesto* made publick in writing, That they did not demand those Assurances: How ill soever the Marquis *Bedamar* relisht this Declaration, the Conduct of the Duke of *Offuna* was much more distastful to him: for the Duke tired with the clamorous Complaints of the *Venetians* from all Parts, upon his continuing to molest the Navigation of the Gulph, and having no other reply to make, Answered; That he would not be drawn to desist, whilst the *Venetians* entertained in their Service, the most implacable Enemies of the King his Master.

Master. 'Tis not hard to make a Judgment by the endeavors of the Ambassadour, to detain the *Holland* Troops (the subject of the Dukes Complaint) with what despair he learnt this Answer of the Duke; He did not doubt but the Senate that courted Peace at any Rate, would dismiss them, to leave the Duke without excuse. But the Issue once more deceived the Prudence of the Marquis of *Bedamar*: Some Spirit, indulgent to the extravagancies of the Duke of *Ossuna*, compelled the *Venetians* to a Resolution thereupon directly contrary both to their Interest and Inclination. It was remonstrated to the Senate, That the Republick had but too much already betrayed their Inclinations for Peace, in all their proceedings, and which had indeed been the ground of so much Phlegme in the *Spanish* Ministers: and if they should be led to accord also to this last instance of the Vice-King, he would be thought to give Laws to *Venice*, and that, instead of dismissing the *Holland* Troops, it imported rather to detain the Troops of *Leivestein*, that were upon departure, in Order to the intire Execution of the Articles of Peace.

The Joy the Marquis of *Bedamar* conceived at this Resolution, was somewhat allayed upon the discovery of the Complot at *Crema*: The Ensign, *Provencal*, and the *Italian* Captain,

tain, that had been gain'd, falling out at Play, the Quarrel came to a Duel, wherein the Captain was mortally wounded; who, to disburthen his Conscience, made confession of all at his Death to the *Venetian* Officer who commanded.

The Ensign mistrusting the Issue, upon his wounding the Captain, betook him to Flight, together with such others of the *Complices* as he had leisure to advertize: the rest were surprized; amongst which the *French* Lieutenant, who was the head of that Design. But whereas *Rendault* had no correspondence with them but by an Agent who was a *Mil-lanese*, and happened to be out of the way, this whole Design was imputed to *Don Pedro*. Eight days after this, the Serjeant Major, who had undertaken to deliver *Marato*, having withheld for his own use some Profits accruing to a Servant of the Commissaries, as also of a Pensioner of the Republick, these, enraged at their Loss, took occasion upon his absence, to enter into his House, break open his Coffers, and take away his Mony and Papers; among which were found Letters which made mention of the Design: Howbeit, he having no other light but from the Dukes Agent, with whom he had Treated, he could accuse no body but the Duke; but he takes a nobler Resolution; he therefore in
the

the midst of his Torments replied, That he was assured they would never save him though he should confess the naked Truth, and that he thought it better to leave to his Companions, if he had any, to revenge his Death, than to betray them by a fruitless Confession. Publick thanksgivings were now performed in *Venice* for these two Discoveries, whilst the main Enterprize became by these accidents more prosperous than before.

The Senate at length concluding they had discovered the secret Cause of the *Spaniards* so irregular proceedings, and these two Plots being detected, they proposed to themselves a State of perfect Repose and Tranquillity, and an assurance of an intire consummation of the Treaty.

In the mean Season, the time of Execution draws near: After the Sunday that precedes the *Ascension* day until *Pentecost*, there is held in *Venice* one of the most famous Fairs in the World; the great concourse of Trading people could give no impediment to the surprize of the Town, and would yield a fair opportunity of introducing the 1000 Soldiers, who mixing themselves with the Merchants, could enter and lodg themselves without being remarked: and it was easie to remove from the *Venetian* Towns wherein they were dispersed, in regard that some time before

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before such as had been most press'd to retire home had disbanded themselves; and the Officers of the Town took now no further care, in consideration they were so many people that lived free of all Charge to the Republick. But, lest it should occasion any Surprize, that so great a number should now Disband in so short a time, the greatest part pretended at their departure they went to the Fair at *Venice*, disguising themselves under the Characters of all sorts of Professions: they observed to lodg themselves in Parties that spake different Languages, to the end the better to remove all suspicion of Intelligence; observing a strangeness and unacquaintance among themselves.

The 500 *Spaniards*, destined to the Plot at *Crema* that was discovered, were sent at the same time into the Neighbourhood of *Brescia*, to possess themselves of that City upon the first intimation of success in the Conspiracy, and by favour of the Faction, that the Lieutenant of the *Count de Nassau* had formed there, and still held out. As to the *Venetian* Fleet, that was Harboured in *Dalmatia*, but in Condition to be able to put to Sea upon the first Summons, by reason of the Duke of *Offuna's* uncertain Motions. The Captain sent to the Commanders of the 12 Ships in his absence a sort of Fire-Works, very fierce, to distribute secretly

secretly throughout the whole Fleet the Eye of the Execution. As no body had any cause to suspect those Officers, it was very easy to effect this, without the least observation : they were Ordered to adjust the measures of their Match, that their Fire-Works might take effect, if possible, in one and the same Moment ; and that, in case any should escape, they should possess them by force of Arms, or sink them with their great Guns : That they should then make the best of their way towards *Venice*, and there dispose themselves for a ready Execution of whatsoever Orders they should receive : Howbeit, they were to attend new Instructions.

For the time of Execution, the day was appointed to be the *Sunday* before *Ascension-day*, which is the first of the Fair. The Duke of *Ossuna* had now so Ordered the Conduct of his little Fleet, that they Arrived, without any memorable Accident, within six Miles of *Venice* ; It was ranged in two Squadrons, which were Ordered to keep some distance in their Sailing, the better to prevent Observation : The principal was composed of Barks of the Built of Fisher-Boats, to render them less suspicious ; the rest consisted of Brigantines, after the manner of Privateers.

Upon the *Saturday* Morning *Elliot* received Orders to depart the next day, that he might arrive within View of the City upon the close of the Evening; That he should spread the Flag of *Saint Mark*; That he should possess himself of some small Islands, by which he must necessarily pass, being of no defence, and from whence possibly might be conveyed Intelligence of his Motions; That he should then boldly present himself before the two Castles of *Lyde* and *Malamocco*, for that they had no Garison within; and that he should make the best of his way between them, That he should advance to within Cannon-shot of the City, and should immediately advertise of his Arrival; and, upon the return of the Bark that should carry the Intelligence, the Captain would send them Pilots to Conduct them safe from the Shoals and Rocks, where-with *Venice* is surrounded, and which render the Entry of the Ports impossible to those that are not well acquainted.

Whereas the following day would be necessary to dispose things for Execution at Night, *Renault* and the Captain judged it necessary to hold a final Consultation the Evening before with the rest of the Complices; The Captain leaving to *Renault* to represent the true State of Affairs, and to give the necessary Advices thereupon: but with all their dil-

diligence they could not have a full Meeting till it was almost Night.

The Assembly consisted of the three French Men that Quartered with *Renault*, the Lieutenant of the *Count de Nassau*, the three *Petardiers*, *L'Anglade*, the two Officers of the *Arsenal*; The Captain and Lieutenant that had been employed before *Nolat*; the two *Brulards*, *Jaffier*, *Robert Theodore* the *Hollander*, The *Savoyard* that had been at the *Escalade* of *Geneva*, and the Engineer *Revillido*.

These 20 Persons being met at the *Greeks* with *Renault* and the Captain; and having retired to the most secret Quarter of the House, after the necessary Cautions customary in these Meetings; *Renault* brake Silence: He began with a Narrative plain and particular of the present posture of Affairs, of the Forces of the Republick, and of their own; of the Dispositions of the City, and of the Fleet; of the preparations of *Don Pedro* and the Duke of *Osuna*; of the Arms and other Provisions of War lodged at the *Spanish* Ambassadors; of the Intelligence they had in the Senate, and amongst the Nobles; in Conclusion, of the exact Measures they had taken touching all things that imported their enquiry.

After having gained the approbation of his Auditory by this Recital, in the truth whereof they were all thoroughly informed, and where-

in they had been equally concerned with himself, he continued his Discourse in the following Terms.

Thus my Companions, You have before you the means destined for your Conduct to the Glory you pursue; There is none of you but can judg if they are sufficient, and assured: We are secure of infallible Methods for introducing of 10000 Arm-ed Men, into a City that cannot make 200 to Oppose us; and where the Plunder will invite to our Party all the Strangers that either Curiosity or Commerce hath brought amongst them; and where their very Subjects themselves will Assist us in dispoiling their Masters (who have often spoiled them) upon the least Prospect of Impunity.

The principal Ships of their Fleet are at our Devotion, and the rest carry in their Bosoms what will quickly reduce them to Ashes: The Arsenal, that famous Arsenal, the wonder of Europe and terror of Asia! is as it were already in our Possession: The nine Brave Persons here present

present, and that for the space of six months have had it in their Power to seize it, have so well taken their Measures, during this retardment, that they conceive there will be no hazard in Answering on Peril of their Heads, to render themselves Masters thereof; and though we should fail both of the Troops of the Lazaretto, and those of the Continent, of Elliots little Fleet, and the 500 Men from Don Pedro, of the 20 Venetian Ships, of our Companion, the great Ships of the Duke of Ossuna, and the Spanish Army in Lombardy, We should yet be strong enough with the Intelligence we have, and the 1000 Men that are Introduced: howbeit all these different supplies that have been recited are so contrived, that either may fail without bringing the least damage to the rest; they may exceedingly fortify each other by their help, but can never annoy. It is almost impossible that they should not all take effect, and one alone is sufficient. That after having practised all the Caution humane prudence can sug-

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gest, Judgment may be made of the success Fortune hath destined us. What Testimony now can we hope of her Favour, that would not fall short of those we have? Yes my Friends! They contain manifestly something of Prodigy: History has no Precedent of an Enterprize of this nature, where the discovery of a part has not detected the whole; and ours hath stood the Tryal of five Accidents, wherein the least in all humane appearance, indangered Ruine: who would not have believed but the loss of Spinosa, who traced our steps, would have been our perdition? That the dismissal of the Troops of Leiveistein that had all avowed our Service, had not disclosed what we held concealed? That the defeat of the little Fleet, had not broken all our Measures, and been a plentiful Spring of new Mischiefs? That the discovery of Crema, and that of Maran, should not of necessity have discovered the whole Party? All these Accidents have occurred without effect; They have not pursued the Track that would have conducted

dugged them to us, nor have improved the
 hints they might have collected thence.
 Never did Repose so profound precede a Ca-
 lamity so great: The Senate we are tho-
 rowly instructed in; The Senate is in per-
 fect Security: Our good Fortune hath
 blinded the most quick-sighted of all Man-
 kind, fortified the most fearful, charmed
 the most suspectful, and confounded the
 most subtle.

We are yet alive, my dear Friends,
 and more powerful than before these Dis-
 asters, which have been the proofs only of
 our Constancy.

We yet live, and our Life shall quickly
 prove fatal to these Tyrants: can a felici-
 ty so extraordinary, so persevering, be na-
 tural? Have we not some ground of pre-
 sumption, that it is the Work of some
 Power exalted above the Common Level
 of humane thought? and indeed, my
 Friends, what can there be upon Earth,
 worthy Divine Protection, if what we un-
 dertake doth not challenge it? We destroy
 the most detestable of all Governments,

and restore so many poor Subjects of the State that groan eternally under the Oppression of an Avaritious Nobility. We secure the Honour of so many Women as would one day be born under their Dominion, qualified for their Pleasure and Luxury. We redeem an infinite number of miserable Wretches, which their Cruelty exposes a Sacrifice to their least resentments upon the slenderest Motive: In a word, We punish the most Criminal of all Mankind, equally nurst up with Vices which Nature abhors, and with those she cannot suffer without Shame.

Let us then without Reluctancy with Fire and Sword endeavour to exterminate those Tyrants; and when we shall behold the Palace where Impiety sit on the Throne, flaming with a Fire, rather from Heaven than Ours, those Tribunals stained by the Tears and Sufferings of the Innocent consumed by devouring Flames, The furious Soldier unsheathing his reeking Dagger from the Bosom of the Wretched, Death dispersed through all Quarters,
and

and all that the Night and a Soldiers fury can produce to compleat a spectacle of horror, let us then call to mind, my dear Friends, that there is nothing pure amongst Men, that the most eligible things have the greatest allays; and to conclude, in exchange of the many Enormities under which this unfortunate Country labours, the Disorders of the approaching Night are the only means to Crown them with Peace, Justice, and Liberty for ever.

This Discourse was received by the rest, with that approbation which we usually bestow on opinions suitable to our own; Howbeit *Renault* that studied their Faces, remarkt in *Jaffier*, one of the Captains most intimate Friends, a sudden transportment; from a most profound attention, to a disorder, which he endeavoured in vain to cover, something still remaining in his Looks of Sadness and Surprize; which betrayed a Spirit labouring under the most violent Reluctancy. This *Renault* observed to the Captain, who at first laught at his suspicion, but observing *Jaffier* with some diligence, became at length almost of the same Belief.

Renault, that was a good Interpreter of the Faculties, and knew how to value the secret move-

movements of the Soul from the least exterior hint that escapes upon any violent agitation of the Mind, having maturely considered what he had read in *Jaffier's* Countenance, thought it his Duty to declare to the Captain his Opinion that he was not to be trusted. The Captain, who knew *Jaffier* to be one of the bravest Men living, accused his Judgment of Violence and precipitation, but *Renault* obstinate in the Justification of his suspicion, explained himself with so Judicious Reason and Argument, that though the Captain was not so nearly touched as he, yet he was at least convinced that *Jaffier* was a Man to be observed; but withal he replied to *Renault* that though *Jaffier* should be a little shaken, (which he could not tell how to believe) he would not have leisure enough by the Morrow to deliberate upon his resolution of betraying them; But on the whole, that considering the posture into which their affairs were ripened, there was no room to resolve upon new Methods; and that they could not avoid embarking upon the Execution with all the hazard.

Renault replied, there was yet one certain way to secure them, and that was to Ponyard him themselves that Night; upon which Proposition the Captain remained some time in suspense, but in the end replied, That he could not resolve on the death of one of his best Friends,

friends, upon the bare motive of suspicion; that a kind of Resolution might have very many evil Consequences; that he was tender of discomposing the minds of the rest, and becoming odious to them; and considered as one that challenged an Empire over them; and pretended a sovereign jurisdiction of life & death; That it was not to be hoped that they could comprehend so clearly the necessity of killing *Jaffier* as themselves did, and that not being so possess, each Conspirator could not but consider with regret, his Life exposed upon the least hint, or imagination that should occur; And that since every Man was now under the most Violent agitations of Spirit, the slenderest Accident might occasion a Revolution, and that in such a posture of Affairs the least Change was of infinite importance, for that they had but the two extream Paths now to tread, that in case they should endeavour to conceal the Reason of *Jaffier's* absence, that would beget a worse suspicion, that he is discovered, and either a Prisoner, or their Enemy; and what reason or pretext soever they could forge for his absence upon the Evening of the Execution, being appointed to so principal a Charge, it would not choose but much intimidate the rest, and suggest melancholly and doubtful apprehensions. *Renault* was attentively harkning to the Captain's Discourse, when

when one of their people entred the Room with an Order of the Senare which they had just received for the Embarking on the Morrow, all the Officers of the Fleet; bringing also with him a Note from the *Spanish* Ambassador, which explained to them the Reason of their Embarking.

The Duke of *Ossuna* could not Conceal his Departure so secretly from *Naples* to joyn with his great Fleet, but the Spies of the Republick got the Wind of it: But he having left Order that no correspondence by Letter, or Courier, should be permitted with *Venice* till such a space of time; The *Venetians* had not till then got any Advice of his Departure.

The Arch-Duke being newly elected King of *Bohemia*, had demanded Aids of the Duke against the Rebels of that Kingdom, which were drawing together about that time, and the Vice-King having Proclaimed that he would conduct these Succors by way of the Gulph, to some Port of the Arch-Dukes on the Coast of *Istria*. The *Venetians* had besought him by Mediation of the Prince himself, to take some other Course. But he who never governed himself by the currant Sentiments of the rest of Mankind, so soon as they had Intimation of his Departure, did not at all doubt but it had been an Order to the Conducting those Succors in Person by the way he had

had resolved: they were determined not to Dispute his Passage, which they might have done, because they would avoid all Occasions of a Breach: they concluded therefore only to dispatch their Fleet, with Order to lie upon the Coast of *Istria*, where he was to disembark his Troops, to have an Eye upon his Motions, and to prevent the Temptation the Prospect of their Maritime Towns in his Passage might suggest. The firmest Resolution Man's Nature is capable of, springs for the most part from the strongest Imagination of the Danger he is to Incur, by Vertue of which Imagination, the Soul in the end becomes familiar with the Circumstances of that Danger, how frightful soever it might seem at first sight, after Duty considered; but also this steadiness of Resolution is so united to these Circumstances, that in Case any of them should chance to change upon the point of Execution, 'tis odds but it begets a wavering in our Resolutions also: This was what gave *Renault* and the Captain some apprehensions touching their Companions upon the occasion of their Embarking so unexpectedly, upon the *Venetian Fleet*; Which News was very unwelcome, in that they conjectured there-upon they should be constrained to alter something of the Method of proceeding as they had adjusted preparatory to the Execution of
their

their Enterprize; nor could they prevent it, by instantly Engaging, The Night being too far advanced, and it would be day ere they could give Advice to the little-Fleet, to Order their approach to be within Cannon-Shot of the Town, in Order to the first Scene of the Tragedy, and before they could give Intimation to the Troops at the *Lazaretto*. On the morrow the *Venetian-Fleet* was to Sail, and in Case they should Order *Elliot* to Advance, he would certainly be discovered by the Boats that would be all that day holding Correspondence between the Fleet and the Town. The Course they were to steer proved the most favourable to the Conspirators they could wish, being directly contrary to *Elliot's* Station; and upon mature debate, it was concluded best to give them leisure till they were got a convenient distance. The difficulty was, to Resolve whether the Captain *L' Anglade*, the three *Petardiers*, and the others that had Charge in the Fleet, should obey the Instructions of the Senate; Their Assistance was indispensably necessary at *Venice*, in Order to the Execution, and above all the Captains, howbeit, his absence from the Fleet appeared the greatest difficulty; The Character he had there, rendring him more conspicuous than al the other party, who having for the most part employment in the Vessels in his own Squadron, he would be

be able to supply the want of the rest by his single Authority, and prevent even the notice of their Absence. The Result of this Conference was, That the Captain should Embarque with only *L' Anglade*, whose business together with that of the three *Petardiers*, depended immediately on the General, howbeit they were resolved to run any hazard rather than permit their departure: the General upon the Captains coming aboard, demanded where they were? who replied he believ'd they had concealed themselves in *Venice* among the *Curtizans*, together with other Officers of his Vessels which he could not find, and was so prest to his departure that he had not leisure to seek them. The Orders of the Senate were so peremptory for the Sailing of the Fleet, that the General had not leisure at first to consider upon sending to find them out, and now could less attend their search. Upon the Captains Embarking, he took *Jaffier* aside, particularly to Conjure him to fill his place near *Renault* upon the Night of Execution; he superadded the assurance they had in his Conduct and Courage, without which confidence he had never been drawn to absent himself, and that he concluded his second-self remained with his Companions, whilst *Jaffier* was among them: during this Discourse the Captain observed him diligently, but he charm'd

charm'd with so many Testimonies of Esteem and Respect they had for him, replyed with so much appearance of Zeal, Fidelity, and Acknowledgment, that would have confirmed the most suspicious Man living. But this was the last fit of his dying Resolution, which expired upon his Friends departure: and his absence, whose consideration alone could support him, now abandoned him wholly to his incertitude. The description *Renault* had made of the Night of Execution towards the end of his harangue, had so affected him, that he could no longer subdue his compassion, his Imagination added an Elegancy to the Picture, and described in the liveliest Colours all the Cruelties, and certain Violences, incident to such occasions; from that moment, his Ears were ever Assaulted with the Cries of Infants trampled under Foot, the Groans of old Men expiring with their Wounds, the Shrieks of Ravisht Women; his Eyes beheld nothing but Pallaces in Ruines, Temples in Flames, Holy places profaned, and Violated; *Venice* the sad, the deplorable *Venice*, was still in his View; no more the Triumphant as in time past, over the *Ottoman* Fortune, and the *Spanish* Insolence, but in Cinders, or in Ruines; immerst more in the Blood of her Inhabitants, than in the Waters that surround her. This funest Image haunted him night
and

and Day, solicited him, prest, and at length shook him: In vain he calls up his Courage to banish it, more obstinate than all the Poets furies; interrupting his Repast, troubling his Repose, and stealing into even his very Dreams. But to betray all his Friends, and such friends! so brave! so prudent! so singular in the respective Talents wherein they excell'd! 'Twould be the work of many ages to unite again such a number of extraordinary Men, at a conjuncture wherein they were upon rendring themselves memorable to the last posterity: Shall he eclipse the Glory of reaping the maturest Fruit, of the most exalted Resolution that hath been ever conceived by the Spirit of Man? And how shall they perish? by Torments more singular & exquisite than what all the Tyrants of of past Ages had ever invented? Who is ignorant that in *Venice* there is a sort of Prison more capable of shaking the strongest Resolution, than all the Pomp of the most frightful Executions of other Countries. These last reflections, which assaulted *Jaffier* upon his weak Side, reduced him to some reassurance. The concern he had entertained for his Companions, had a little prevailed upon his pity for the Desolation of *Venice*, and under these terms of irresolution he continued until the Feast of *Ascension*; to which time they had respited the Execution. On the Morning they received advice from the *Captain*, who assured them he would answer for the Fleet; That they

were bound towards *Marau*; and that at the same time they sent to the *Lazaretto* for the Troops of *Lovestein*, they should dispatch a Boat of Advice to him, which he would await in order to his attempting what was to be done on his part. They had now dispatcht to *Elliot* the Pilots they had promised: they had introduced into the Bell-Tower of the Procuratie of *St. Mark* the People that had been appointed to that Post, who being acquainted with those that held the Guard, should stupefy them with certain preparations they had made, to mingle with their Meat and Drink, whereof by reason of the solemnity of the Feast they might oblige them to eat and drink plentifully. Orders were distributed to the respective Officers, they had chosen to attacke such of the Senators in their Houses as were most to be suspected, and kill them. To these each had his House assigned him, also every principal Conspirator and Officer, had his Post appointed him, the number of Men he was to Command, and the Watch-Word accustomary: They had also sent orders to the Troops in the *Lazaretto*, and to the *Spaniards* in the little Fleet, explaining by what methods they should disperse themselves upon their Landing at the place of *St. Mark*, which was the general Rendezvouz: The Places they were to possess, the Leaders they were to follow, and the Word also for their conduct. They also caused the Galley-foist of the Coun-

Council of Ten to be Surveyed by people unsuspected, and found the Artillery she had aboard for their purpose. *Jaffier* had the curiosity of seeing the solemnity of the Dukes Espousal of the Sea, it being likely to be the last; and there his compassion is reinforced upon the prospect of those publick rejoycings. The tranquillity wherein he beheld the unfortunate *Venetians*, excited anew his concern for their hastning perdition, till at length he became more wavering than ever. But to conclude, Heaven would not abandon the work of twelve Ages, and of so many able Masters to the fury of a Courtezan, and a Troop of desperate Men.

The good *Genius* of the Republick suggested to *Jaffier* an expedient whereby he concluded he might save altogether, both *Venice* and his Companions: He therefore finds out *Bartholomew Comino*, Secretary to the Council of Ten; telling him he had a matter of State, of extraordinary importance to communicate, but that he would first have the Dukes and Councils assurance of Grace and Pardon, wherein they should tye themselves with all the Religious and Holy Circumstances possible, to ratify by the Senate what they should promise; which Grace was the Life of twenty two Persons which he should nominate, let the Crimes be never so monstrous; That otherwise all the Torments they could inflict; should never be able to draw a word from his

Mouth. The Ten were thereupon immediately assembled, and Ordered a Committee to wait upon the Duke to receive from him the Parole *Jaffier* had demanded, wherein he complied with the same readiness they had done before; and then *Jaffier*, fully satisfied in what he went about, discovered to them the whole Conspiracy. The Story was so full of horror and wonder, that it was too big for their Belief; howbeit it being easie to verify some of the Particulars, *Comino* was immediately dispatht to the Bell-Tower of the Procuratie, and reports that he found the Guards wholly drunk or asleep; then they sent to the Arsenal, where it was long ere they could find the Officers that were concerned; but in the end, one of the Servants afrightned with the Threatnings wherewith they menaced him, discovered to them a small Wicket which they forced open, after they had long knockt in vain; there they found them with the three Petardiers, employed upon finishing the five Fire-works that were destined for the Execution: they were ask'd what made them work upon so eminent a Feast-day, and why they made no answer upon their knocking so long at the door? To which they replied with much presence of Wit; That the Petardiers being to depart on the morrow towards the Fleet, and that the General had commanded them to prepare a quantity of Fire-works just ready to be put in use, and that not having

a sufficient quantity ready made, they had intreated the others to assist them to compleat that Quantity: That the Affair seeming to them of some importance, they conceived it their duty for once to dispence with the Solemnity of the Day; and the better to follow their Work without scandal, they had shut themselves up as they found them into the most retired place of the Arsenal, which they had chosen for that purpose. Although *Comino* could find nothing to Reply to this Confession, yet he was careful to confine them all Prisoners: The Ten more and more amazed, dispatht them to the *Greek* Courtezans, but there they found no body; those that were appointed to debauch the Guards in the Bell Tower, having fained themselves asleep amongst the rest, upon *Comino's* appearing among them, did upon his departure immediatly hasten to the *Greeks*, where they gave the Alarum so warmly, that upon the very moment *Nolot*, *Robert*, *Revillido*, *Retrofi*, *Villa Mexzana*, *Durand*, *Ternon*, and *Robert Brulard* that by accident were there, fled, and embarked themselves in a Boat they had retained at the *Rialto* Bridg, for the Transportation of the Troops at the *Lazaretto*, and happily made their escape out of Town. The displeasure the *Venetians* took at their missing them, put them upon resolutions of visiting the Ambassadors Houses of *France* and *Spain*, without further delay; they therefore made civil demand of Admission, upon

business that imported the Service of the *Republick*: The French Ambassador made no scruple to admit them, and *Renault* was apprehended, and led away together with *Lawrence Brusard* and *Bribe*. But the Ambassador of *Spain*, very sharply alledged the privilege of his Character, and with much importment protested against the violence they offered, when he perceived they would force their Passage: Upon their entry they found Arms for above 500 Men, 60 Petards, together with a very great quantity of Powder & Fire-works, and such-like Preparations; whereof they drew up an exact Inventory, himself being present mocking at their Curiosity. Upon their carrying this Inventory to the Council of Ten, a Noble-man of the House of *Valiera* arrived, bringing with him *Brainvill* and *Theodore*, two of the Principal Conspirators: These upon intimation the Plot was discovered, and despairing to save themselves by flight, the Gates being all guarded upon their escaping from the *Grocks*, resolved upon another course, and feigning to discover the Conspiracy, sought out this Noble-man, whom they had known in *Flanders*, that he might carry them before the Council of Ten where they were secured. In the mean time a general Search was made through all the Taverns, Inns, Lodgings of hire, Brothel-houses, and wheresoever Strangers might be supposed to conceal themselves; seizing on all the Officers they found, of *Hollands*,
French,

French, Spaniards, Walloons, Neapolitans, or Milanais; to the number of near 400. Amidst these Transactions, two *Dauphinois* arrived from *Orange*, Booted and Spurred, just as they had cast themselves from their Post-Horses into the Boat that conducted them thither; these declared to the Council of Tien, that some *French-men* of their acquaintance had written them from *Venice*, That if they had an inclination to enrich themselves, they need but hasten to *Venice*, where there was a Conspiracy just upon execution to surprize the whole City, and expose it to Pillage, & that they were come with all possible diligence, to make discovery of this Treason, instead of being sharers therein; they were received with thanks, and honourably entertained, and intreated to take their repose whilst the Senate should consider upon a fitting reward for their Service.

By this time it was day, and the Senate assembled, and the Marquis of *Bedamar* demanded Audience, which in curiosity only was granted him. The noise of the Conspiracy was by this time dispersed throughout the City, and begat a general consternation among the Inhabitants; who having attained only an imperfect account that the *Spaniards* were the Authors, they immediately beset the Ambassadors Palace to force it, and were just upon putting fire to it, when the Guard that was to conduct him to his Audience

arrived; who making their Commission known, the People flattered with hopes the Senate would make him a publick example, permitted him to come out alone, conducting him with all the Imprecations and Indignities imaginable.

The Ambassador being admitted into the Senate, began his Speech, with a most angry complaint against the violence had been committed upon his House against the common right of Nations; he accompanied his Complaints with menaces of Revenge, so fierce and violent, that the Major part of the Senators were struck with Consternation, and apprehended he had yet recourse to means whereof they were yet ignorant, to put his Enterprize in execution. The Duke replied, That some excuse might be contrived for the Outrage, if any reason could be given for those Preparations of War that had been found in his House, who being an Ambassador, ought to be a Minister of Peace: To which he replied, That he wondered people reputed so wise, should be yet so disingenuous, to insult to his Face upon a pretext so frivolous; That they knew as well as himself, that all those Provisions were but deposited in his House, as at other times he had practised, to be sent to *Naples* and *Tyrole*; as to the Arms, 'twas the general Opinion that the best in the World were made by the Subjects of the Republick; and for the Fire-Works, &c. the occasion of some excellent Work-men in that

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Art, that had been presented him, had engaged him to employ them out of curiosity: The Duke interrupting him, said, those Work-Men were Villains, or rather Monsters, born to the eternal shame of humane race; and, upon these words, presented the Ambassador with a Letter of Credence for the Governour of *Milan*, which they had found among *Renault's* Papers, with other Letters of the Duke of *Ossuna*. The Ambassador replied, that for the Duke of *Ossuna* he had always declared that he would never be accountable for any proceedings of his: As to the Letter of Credence, it was true the Ambassador of *France* had some time since recommended a Gentleman to him, that stood in need of his Favour, upon some pretension he had in *Milan*, and that upon that motive he had given him his Letter, which was the same they presented to him, but was utterly ignorant the Republick was at all interested in the affair. The Duke perceiving by his Replies, that the Ambassador would never want fair Apologies, contented himself to represent to him with much gravity the foulness of his Enterprize; and concluded, protesting that they were all far from suspecting the King his Master had the least part therein: The Ambassador upon that Remonstrance, answer'd with all the Emportment of an honest Man, whose Honour is unjustly attacqu'd; That he was of a Nation to which Valour and Prudence were so natural

tural, that there could be no need of recourse to Secret Practices, to destroy their Enemies; That the King his Master was a Prince of Power, sufficient to subdue them by open force, without the Assistance of Treasons and Conspiracies, which possibly they might soon find to their Cost; upon these words he briskly withdraws without observing the least Ceremony; those that conducted him, conjured him to retire for some space into a Neighbouring Apartment, until the Senate should take necessary care for his Preservation; he without any reply, consented to the Proposition, and boiling with rage retired whithersoever they pleased to conduct him.

In the mean time the People had drawn together in the Market-place, to assassinate him, in case the Senate should acquit him: But a Guard being sent to secure the embarking of his Servants, and the most valuable of his Moveables, he was himself thereupon conducted by some obscure way through the Palace, on board a *Brigantine*; by which, under the protection of a good Convoy, he got away. The People enraged at his Escape, made Effigies both of him and the Duke of *Ossuna*, treating them with the same Indignities they would have done to their Persons, had they been in their power. Upon the same instant was dispatched Orders to the General of their Fleet, to cause *l'Anglade*, the Captain *Jaques Pierre*, and all the Officers of the Conspiracy, which the Captain had on board his

his Ships, to be immediately drown'd: but upon expectation that they would be upon their Guard, they made choice of a Vessel for this message the most improper they could light on, and equip her so, as to hinder all manner of suspicion that she came from thence; Ordering her also to steer a Course with so great compass about, that she should seem of all others, least bound from the Place out of which she sailed. Information was afterwards made that the Captain had been in a readiness all the night, and that having observed the arrival of that Vessel, he retired into the midst of his Squadron, as if he had been in some suspicion of the truth, and was willing to be in a posture of defence in case he should be betrayed: But 'tis to be thought that he unwilling to hazard the danger of discovery upon what might prove only a bare panick fear, took some time to deliberate if it were fit to declare, whilst the General who lost not one moment of time, dispatcht two persons on board him, the least suspicious he could; who appearing without any Arms, were admitted to his Cabin, where finding him alone accosted him with an air of much indifference, and stabbing him, threw him into the Sea, without the least noise: *L'Anglade*, and 40 of his Officers were served in the same sort, with all the expedition imaginable, and the like secrecy.

In the mean time *Renault* is examined at Venice, who replied he understood not what they de-

demanded; they shew him the Letter of Credence to *Don Pedro*, a Passport in *Spanish*, Bills of Exchange for considerable Sums of Money, and 1000 Pistols in ready Gold; Upon which he replied, That he neither knew the Ambassador of *Spain*, nor the Governour of *Milan*; so that in case any could be found among his Papers, that led them to those Inquiries, it must needs be that some body had maliciously put them there. They brought him to the Rack, and gave him the question ordinary and extraordinary, to which he answered nothing that was new, only that he was a Poor, Honest Gentleman of Quality and Honour, and that God would be his Revenge: The Rack was several days together presented him, with promise of his Life in case he would but confess what he knew, but all to no purpose; and after having suffered all their ways of torment, he was in the end strangled in the Prison, and after exposed in publick for a Traytor, hanging by one Leg. The Lieutenant of the Count de *Nassaw*, the three Petardiars, *Bribe*, *Laurence*, *Brulard*, and the two Officers of the *Arsenal*, were all so strangled, after having suffered the question with the same constancy: But *Brainvil* and above 300 Officers were only strangled, or secretly drowned.

In the mean time *Jaffer* in desperation upon the dismal success of his Compassion, loudly complained of the breach of promise of the Duke
and

and Council, touching the Preservation of his Companions: They had not indeed failed but upon deliberate advice; many were of opinion it should be religiously observed; others concluded it doubtful in case they had not received any intimation but by *Jaffier*: But the two *Dauphinois* that also discovered it, put the Senate upon the same resolution, as if *Jaffier* had not done any thing therein; to which resolution they were the rather led, for the greater horror, and example to the Publick, albeit much might have been urged to the contrary; they endeavoured therefore to appease *Jaffier*, by all means possible; tending him both Money and Employment, which he refused, obstinately persisting in his fruitless demand of the Lives of his Companions, and in the end left the City inconsolable for their Sufferings, which the Senate coming to understand, ordered him to desert their State within the space of three days, on pain of death, and 4000 Chiquins for whosoever should take him. The resentments of his Pity for his Companions redoubled upon every Reflection that himself was the Author of their Death; he considered by the way that the Enterprize of *Brescia* was yet in a condition of taking effect, and the desire of Revenge upon the Senate, carried him to that Town, where he was hardly arrived when the Ten having discovered by some Papers of the Conspirators; Troops were immediately dispatcht to possess

selfs the Principal Posts, and to put to the Sword such *Spaniards* as had been Introduced: *Jaffier* was taken Prisoner fighting at the Head of the Party, as a Man that sought nothing more than to sell his Life at a greater rate than ordinary, who being some few days after sent to *Venice*, was there drown'd the day after his Arrival.

The Death of this unfortunate Wretch perfected the establishment of tranquillity in that great City.

The first care of the Senate was to demand another Ambassador from *Madrid*; *Don Lewis Bravo* was soon nominated for that Employment, with Order to depart immediately, the Marquis of *Bedamar* giving him (according to custom) Instructions which were reducible almost to two Heads: The first was, That the new Ambassador should lowly and publicly blame the Conduct of his Predecessor, and should affect a Method quite different in his own, even in matters of the greatest Indifference. The other was, That in all Affairs that should occur, touching the Rights and Preheminences of the Republick, he should consult above all things, *Squittinio della liberta Veneta*, to which the Marquis of *Bedamar* refers him, upon several Points mentioned in those Instructions, and in terms howbeit obscure, yet evidencing the Paternal Kindness he had for that Libel. And now it was decreed by Proclamation, and sound of Trumpet, through the whole

Venetian

Venetian State, that none should presume on pain of death, to impute the least share of the Conspiracy, either to his Catholick Majesty or his Subjects. Thirty Thousand Ducats were given to the two *Dauphinois*, that had come express from their own Countrey to discover the Conspiracy.

Don Pedro finding matters now past all hopes, dismiss quite his Troops and surrendred *Verseil*; the Duke of *Offuna* generously provided for the Wife and Children of the Captain, setting them at liberty; and the Marquis of *Bedamar* received Orders from *Spain* to depart and serve as Principal Minister in *Flanders*, and some years after from *Rome* a Cardinals Hat.

F I N I S.
